VOLUME XLVI Part 1 June 1958

THE JOURNAL OF THE SIAM SOCIETY (JSS)

BANGKOK

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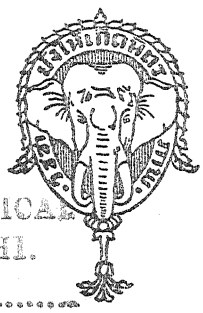

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THE CULTURE OF THE TIBETAN BORDER REGIONS[1]

by

John Blofeld

The area which forms the subject of this enquiry includes the small countries of Sikkim and Bhutan, a small part of the Indian frontier region around Darjeeling and Kalimpong, and (from some points of view) the mountain areas of Nepal. Of Nepal we shall say little here. Whatever can be said of its Tibeto-Buddhist tribesmen in the Nepalese mountains hardly differs from what can be said about the rest of the region. Moreover, Nepal is, in the main, a Hindu country with Hindu rulers and a predominently Hindu way of life. It belongs to the area with which we are concerned here only because of its minority population.

Geographically, our area consists of the Eastern foothills of the Himalayas where they rise sharply from the North Indian plain, and a part of the mighty Himalayas themselves, especially in the neighbourhood of that immense and magnificent giant, Kanchenjunga. The author cannot claim to be familiar with the whole area. In fact, his personal observations have been confined to Southern Sikkim and to the Indian frontier region including Darjeeling and Kalimpong. As for Bhutan, it is a closed kingdom more difficult for foreigners to enter than any country on either side of the so-called Iron and Bamboo Curtains. The author's knowledge of that mysterious kingdom is limited to hearsay and to his acquaintance with some exceedingly charming and almost frighteningly intelligent ladies who form part of the Bhutan Royal Family.

The little state of Sikkim, with which more than half of this narrative is concerned, is only sixty miles long and forty miles broad, but it offers samples of every type of climate in the

1. Adapted from a lecture delivered at the March 10, 1958, meeting of the Siam Society.

world, except that of the desert. The valleys, with their jungles, rice fields and tropical vegetation, might well be a part of Northern Thailand. A little higher are pine forests and other vegetation reminiscent of the Shan States. Higher still, the climate is like that of the temperate zone. Here can be seen one of the loveliest sights imaginable — mile upon mile of splendid rhododendron forest. Above the rhododendrons, one might be in Norway; and, going higher still, the visitor acquires a pretty good idea of what to expect at the North Pole.

Sikkim is less of an independent kingdom that Bhutan, but the Government of India refrains from much interference in her internal affairs; it stations no police or troops in the state, and limits its representation to a Resident, who is (for internal purposes) very much like an ambassador. The King of Sikkim, like most of the officials and great landowners, is a Bhutia, which means a person of purely Tibetan extraction, though not a subject of Tibet. The royal family and other important Sikkimese families have intermarried not only with the rulers of Bhutan, but also with the Lhasa nobility. They differ from Tibetans proper only in having been resident in Sikkim for several generations. Their religion, language and customs are almost purely Tibetan; in a sense they are more Tibetan than the Tibetans of Tibet, because in religion and certain other matters, they cling to older forms of Tibetan culture.

The great majority of the middle and lower classes in Sikkim, with the exception of the many Tibeto-tribes such as the Lepchas, are not Tibetan, but Nepalese (which is a broad term, covering a number of races). With these, for the purposes of this discussion, we are not much concerned.

The first part of the author's journey in this area consisted of a bus trip which brought him from the torrid plains of India high into the Himalayan foothills, following a zigzag course along the banks of the beautiful Tista, to Gangtok, capital of Sikkim. This little town is about seven thousand feet above sea level. Its

temples and a few public buildings are Tibetan in style, its one-street bazar more or less Indian or Nepalese, and its private dwellings very much 'Bangkapi-style,' except that they are scattered about the lovely mountainside and approached by steep, winding paths. In fact, there is very little that is specifically Tibetan about the appearance of Gangtok, but the author was fortunate enough to meet many of its Tibetan inhabitants and to be entertained in their houses.

The Tibetans are a picturesque people. The upper-class men wear an ankle-length, very full Chinese-style robe belted at the waist, and their hair is still twisted in a long braid, fastened with a scarlet ribbon and wound round the head. They look as if they had stepped out of some Chinese ancestral portrait, and it is rather incongruous to find them speaking beautiful English and talking of all sorts of modern subjects, such as cinematography and scientific horticulture. The women wear a purely Tibetan dress, consisting of a long, sleeveless wool or silk gown worn over a blouse with sleeves of a colour contrasting with the that of the gown. They may also wear a horizontally striped apron in bright colours, some of which show the insignia of noble rank at the upper corners. Their hair is worn in two long braids. I doubt if, on the average, any women in the world look healthier or more lovely. Women of all classes wear costumes of much the same pattern, though of differing materials. The men who are not living the relatively soft lives of officials wear great knee-length boots of beautiful, soft, coloured leather and hitch their long gowns over their belts, so that the skirts of the gowns resemble kilts. Some of the men wear a large gold and turquoise earring, in the right ear only.

The manners of all the Tibetans are delightful. They are kind, courteous, hospitable and exceedingly graceful in their movements, so that almost every gesture seems part of a traditional ritual. Their houses are furnished with great elegance. Instead of chairs, they have hard, square cushions covered with small sections of gaily woven Tibetan carpet, and these cushions may

be piled one on top of another to provide a seat of any height. The rest of their furniture is of highly carved and painted lacquer, notable for the excellent choice of colours and for the very wide variety of carved ornamentation. Though Tibetans are fond of bright colours, their natural taste enables them to avoid any ugly clashing of colour.

It is a delightful experience to be entertained in a Tibetan house. Well-to-do people do not regularly eat the national food, *Tsampa*, which is simply a porridge of parched corn and water or buttered tea, with salt. Their food is more or less Chinese. Tea, usually churned with butter and salt, is offered very ceremoniously to guests in porcelain cups with filigreed or chased silver lids and saucers. The favourite alcoholic drink is *Ch'ang*, a sort of beer served in a segment of silver-bound giant bamboo, about a foot round, and drunk through a 'straw' made of a length of very thin bamboo. Specially prepared fermented meal is placed in the giant bamboo and hot water poured in until the vessel is full. Water can be added several times before the beer becomes weak and tasteless. If the guests do not drink enough, their charming hostesses will encircle them, performing a dance and singing words such as:

"We're sorry you cannot stay longer;
Why don't you change your mind?
And, at least, while you're here,
Pray do us the honour
Of drinking a long, long drink
To our health."

Few can resist such invitations, however often they are offered; and, though the *Ch'ang* is very mild, few guests are permitted to leave a party absolutely sober. Throughout the entertainment, one is treated with a very attractive combination of rather formal, ritualistic manners and a friendly, laughing intimacy, which is most winning. The upper-class Tibetans are probably among the few people left in the world whom one can call highly sophisticated, using the word without the smallest implication of

'Westernized.' Almost all other Oriental cultures have suffered so much from the impact of the West, that the habits and manners of the educated classes are almost more international than traditional—which is rather sad. Of the many travellers who have written books on Tibet, only a few ever had the opportunity to come in contact with the Tibetan upper classes; but, wherever they nave done so, they have usually paid a similar tribute to Tibetan good manners, good taste, and high sophistication.

In Gangtok, the author visited the chief places of interest. Most important, in some respects, is the huge *Chorten*, a sort of giant *Pra Chedi*, built in five sections symbolizing the five elements, including ether. The Tibetans are extremely strict about keeping the shoulder towards holy structures of this kind. The author is sure that Tibetan visitors to Nakorn Prathom would not dream of driving straight into the shopping area, thereby exposing the left side of their cars and themselves to the *Chedi*. Wherever a *Chedi* is near a road, a special path is built round it, so as to avoid this difficulty.

Tibetan temples are not particularly attractive on the outside, but their interiors are lovely. From floor to ceiling there are beautiful frescoes of sacred subjects, and there are also many *Tanka*, hanging, silken scrolls on rods tipped with silver, which serve as mountings for lovely paintings. The silken mountings usually contain the five sacred colours. One may watch the court artist at work and be delighted to see that there are still living exponents of Tibetan art whose standard is not inferior to that of former days.

From Gangtok the auther journeyed to the monastery of Tashiding, which crowns a conical mountain in the centre of a deep bowl, and which is almost an island, for it is nearly encircled by the waters of two mountain torrents which clash thunderously into one near its foot. The journey, which took several days, was accomplished partly on horseback and partly on foot, through leech-infested jungles, and along narrow paths, sometimes

through knee-deep water. At each stage, there is a comfortable government rest house; and, whenever the sun shines, all around are magnificent views of green mountains with the pure white Himalayan giants rearing their heads above them. The spectacle of dawn in one of these places is about the loveliest sight earth has to offer—no less than a dance of the fire-gods across the snow.

The monastery consists of a long narrow street of quite small houses with a large Hall of Ceremony at either end. The chief lama, Tangku Rimpoché, is a man famous for his piety and learning. His rituals and meditations continue for almost twenty-four hours a day, except in the late morning when he sleeps for a few hours. Careless about his dress and wearing a wig very much on one side (for he belonged to the ancient, 'unreformed' sect who do not shave their heads), he might be a figure of fun. But his charming dignity, the light of knowledge and spirituality in his eyes, and his great, warm friendliness inspire immediate respect, making one forget, after the first moment, his otherwise laughable appearance. His hospitality is unbounded. The author shall never forget the morning after an all-night ceremony, during which laymen had been busy cooking a meat dumpling called *momo* (sarapao) that was bigger than he had ever seen before. The Lama invited him to eat with the group and kept pressing upon him more and more of these gigantic *momo*. Almost at his last gasp, he managed to choke down thirteen of them, all protests having been in vain. And, just as the last piece of the thirteenth dumpling was swallowed, the old man smiled. It was a lovely smile of simple pleasure and contentment. The way the Tangku Lama looked at that moment was unforgetable. It was one of the high points of the author's whole tour.

From Sikkim the journey led to Darjeeling, which is very lovely but a bit too much of a hill station. However, a most delightful story was told there which illustrates well the

impressive manners of the Tibetans. A former Governor of Bengal was spending the hot season in Darjeeling. For some reason, the Tibetans and British were not on very good terms at the time and, when the Governor sought to entertain the Tibetan gentry round about, very few, if any, Tibetans accepted. The Governor called for his local chief of police, who happened to be a Tibetan, and asked him to arrange things as best he could. Apparently several distinguished Englishmen had been promised that they should meet Tibetans, so Tibetans there must be. On the night of the ball, some twenty or thirty grave, dignified men in long silk robes appeared at the Governor's residence and charmed everybody with their beautiful manners. Because none of the British present could speak Tibetan, conversation had to be carried on with the help of the police chief. Everyone was delighted and the evening was a great success. It was not until some years afterwards that the Governor learned the truth about his stately guests. They had been quite humble people, some of them sedan-chair bearers from a neighbouring town, who, thanks to their borrowed silk robes and naturally beautiful manners, had passed quite easily for distinguished gentry. Few races, certainly, have such graceful manners at all levels of society for a trick such as this to be possible.

From Darjeeling the author went to Kalimpong, where he stayed for quite a long time. Less picturesque than Darjeeling, though in any case very lovely, it is far more attractive because it is the end of the chief trade route from Tibet. Not only are there many Tibetan scholars and monks living in and around the little town, but thousands of Tibetans journey back and forth from Lhasa. Kalimpong is an excellent place for buying Tibetan knickknacks, as well as for meeting Tibetans, including the most lovely and talented Bhutanese princesses who live at Bhutan House, who act as agents for the King of Bhutan. (Incredible as it may seem, the Foreign Minister of Bhutan is, or was, a woman.)

Tibetans are skilled in many arts. Besides music and poetry, they have an extensive literature, largely on religious subjects, and such arts as painting, weaving, rug-making, embroidery, making jewelry of gold and silver set with coral, turquoise and other semi-precious (or sometimes very precious) stones, metal-work of several kinds, block-printing, paper-making, wood-carving, bronze-casting, and architecture. Their taste is so good that one rarely sees an un-beautiful Tibetan object, except those sold to tourists in the great cities of India. And the Tibetans like their possessions to have individual qualities. A very poor man may have nothing in the world but his clothes (often ragged and filthy dirty) and three or four little personal objects, such as a sheath knife, a chopstick case, or a flint-lighter. But usually each of these objects, in addition to possessing some artistic merit, will be in some way different from similar objects in the possession of other people.

Religion seems to mean more to the Tibetans than to any race in the world, with the possible exception of some of the more traditional Near Eastern Moslems. But, although excellent translations of Tibetan texts with very full notes and commentaries have been published by Dr. Evans Wentz (Particularly the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* and the book about the Tibetan saint, Milarespa), the rest of the world seems surprisingly full of misinformation on the subject of Tibetan religion. One reason, no doubt, is that so few of the travellers who have written about Tibet have had enough knowledge of the subject to be able to judge Tibetan Buddhism at its true worth. The criticism usually made of it is that it is a degenerated form of a noble religion, in which magic and demons play a larger part than the exalted teaching of the Lord Buddha.

This criticism is certainly not without some foundation. To claim the reverse would be going too far. It is true that many Tibetans still follow the ancient Bon religion, and that even more of them subscribe to a kind of Buddhism which is really Bon with

a thin Buddhist veneer and a mere change in the titles of the principal deities. Many foreigners go to the Tibetan borderlands in order to scale the mighty peaks of the Himalayas; the only Tibetans or Tibeto-tribesmen with whom they come in contact are generally their bearers, who are most often drawn from that class of ignorant, superstitious folk to whom such criticism chiefly applies. There is yet another factor which contributes to visitors acquiring a poor impression of Tibetan Buddhism. Among the Tibetans education is limited to a very small percentage of the population. The percentage of males who become monks, however, must be about the highest in the world. These conditions naturally lead to to the existence of huge numbers of monks who are barely, if at all, educated. The religious qualities of such monks may, in certain cases, be very high indeed; but, on the whole, uneducated monks tend to lower the high standards of their religion, as Catholic Europe discovered during mediaeval times.

Magic, sorcery, divination, witchcraft, fortunetelling, miraculous healing, spirit worship and the evocation of spirits are all common enough in Tibet. These practices contain a certain fascination for many of us, but we shall not be concerned with them here. We shall look rather at the more serious, the more spiritual, and the more scholarly aspects of Tibetan Buddhism. We shall emphasize these just because they have all too often been lost sight of by most travellers.

The author's own impression of Tibetan Buddhism, based on a twenty-year study which began under the tutelage of learned Tibetan and Mongolian lamas in China long ago, is that it is a religion of strange contrasts. If it is true that some Tibetan monks are remarkable for ignorant and superstitous practices, it is also true that the genuine scholars among them have probably gone more deeply into the implications of the Dharma than almost any other group in the world today. What is even more important, they have achieved heights of

spirituality which have been very seldom equalled anywhere in the modern world. Some of these scholars have spent as much as thirty or forty years at the great Buddhist university in Lhassa, which instructs thousands of monks in every aspect of religion, as well as medicine, logic, and other subjects. Moreover, during the years they spend at the university, they do not vegetate. They apply themselves constantly to the study of the Dharma, the human spirit, and the mind of man. No less a psychologist than the great Jung has paid many glowing tributes to the discoveries Tibetan students have made of the workings of the mind. Some of the results obtained by them he actually utilized in his own work.

The criticism of 'ignorant superstition' levelled constantly at Tibetan Buddhists may be partly due to a misunderstanding of another kind than those already mentioned. Tibetan Buddhist practice is highly ritualistic, although the Lord Buddha described ritual as one of the great hindrances to Enlightenment. The author has often discussed this matter with Tibetan lamas and has received an answer somewhat as follows:

"It is quite true that rituals recited or performed by rote without any proper understanding of, or reflection upon, their meaning are, at the very least, useless and, at most, a great obstacle to progress. But our rituals are not intended to be treated in that way. The Dharma is very profound and contains all sorts of more or less abstract ideas which the ordinary disciple finds it hard to recall or even to understand. One of the main purposes of our rituals, besides encouraging a spirit of devotion, is to impress the different aspects of the Dharma upon the minds of the devotees taking part."

To illustrate the meaning of this reply, a few examples are offered here. When a Tibetan is about to prostrate himself, he first raises his hands (palm to palm) above his head, then lowers them to the level of his face and, finally, brings them down to his chest. This symbolizes the threefold purity of body,

speech and mind, which he hopes to achieve by submitting himself to the Dharma. Upon most Tibetan altars will be found two rows of offerings consisting of the same symbols (water, flowers, incense, etc.), but laid out in reverse directions. This serves to prevent simple-minded people from supposing that the Buddha resides in the statue or *tanka* (picture) before which the offerings stand. One row is offered to the Buddha, as symbolized by that statue; the other 'to the Buddha in our own hearts,' which one may assume refers to the potential Buddha-nature in all of us.

A more complicated example concerns the Tibetan mantra, *Om mani padme hum*. The meanings of this short sentence are so manifold that a German scholar has recently produced a book, translated into three European languages, in which he treats the mantra in no less than four hundred pages. The words *mani padme* are usually translated as the Jewel in the Lotus, a correct translation, but one with an incredible number of meanings which the Tibetans (or some of them) know intimately. According to one interpretation, the Jewel is the Buddhist Church together with all outward manifestations of Buddhism; while the Lotus refers to that inner meaning of the Dharma which only a few of us will be fortunate enough to discover in this life. The word *om* (or *aum*), when properly pronounced, begins right at the back of the mouth and ends with the lips closed. It thus symbolizes, among other things, the totality of all sound, but rather in the spiritual sense of that expression best conveyed in English by 'The Music of the Spheres.' The word *hum* is a 'creative' sound, symbolizing the purity and religious or spiritual worth of the devotions being or about to be performed. The whole mantra is used in scores of different ways, of which one may be mentioned here. According to traditional Buddhist teaching, there are six kinds of life; that in the *Loka* or temporary heavens, that of the *Asura*, that of men, of animals, that of *Preta*, and of sufferers in the temporary hells. The six syllables of the mantra are therefore recited very slowly indeed, while the

devotee radiates thoughts of kindness and compassion to all beings who are bound to the Wheel of Life and who are undergoing one of these six states of existence. Each of the states is thought of separately in conjunction with the solemn intoning of the appropriate syllable of the mantra.

Almost every Tibetan temple contains a large, coloured picture of the Wheel of Life, known to many English readers through Kipling's novel, *Kim*. The explanation of all the symbols on this Wheel requires several hours, but we will attempt to give some broad indications of its most obvious meanings. In the centre is a small circle containing pictures of cock, snake and pig, symbolizing lust, malice and ignorance, the three fires of evil which cause us to revolve upon the Wheel. Around this is another circle with representations of beings progressing upwards or downwards in accordance with their self-built karmic destiny. The next circle is divided into six sections, representing the six states of existence already alluded to. Graphic representations of the pleasures and pains of the various sorts of life fill these sections. If the picture of the Wheel is a large and detailed one, there will be within these six sections various sub-types of being, such as men or animals enjoying a relatively pleasant existence and others who undergo almost hellish sufferings while still well above the state of hell. The outermost circle is divided into twelve sections, each containing a picture representing one of the twelve *nidana*, the chain of cause and effect which entails countless rebirths. Of these, we shall have something to say later. The whole Wheel, or series of concentric circles, is grasped by a hideous demon, who symbolizes *avidhya*, or primordial ignorance, the main cause of all our woes, of our endless journeying from life to death and from death to life, ever bound to the great Wheel of Sangsara. The implication is that striving for rebirth in Heaven or in any of the other relatively high states is foolish, for, in any case, such beings are still within Sangsara. When their stock of good karma has been exhausted, they will have to descend

to one of the lower states and fight the ancient battle all over again. At the top left corner of the oblong picture on which the Wheel is displayed is a figure of the Lord Buddha pointing towards the opposite corner at a small wheel depicted there, representing the Wheel of the Law (Dharma). The implication is obvious. Instead of striving for Heaven, or some such transient reward, we should follow the teaching of the Dharma and escape forever from Sangsara into Nirvana.

The Twelve *Nidana* are:

1. A blind man, symbolizing ignorance which leads to the rest of the twelve links and, in turn, results from them.

2. A potter, symbolizing the fashioning, or the taking on of personality which results directly from the operation of ignorance.

3. Two men in a boat, symbolizing *nama-rupa* (roughly, name and form) or the particular type of personality which follows.

4. A monkey and fruit, symbolizing 'tasting good and evil,' or the formation of consciousness.

5. Six empty houses, symbolizing the six senses (including cognition), which grow from consciousness.

6. A pair of lovers, symbolizing the contact of the newly incarnated personality with external phenomena.

7. A man blinded by two arrows, symbolizing the distinctions we foolishly make between 'pleasant' and 'unpleasant.'

8. A man drinking *Chang*, symbolizing the thirst for more 'pleasure.'

9. A monkey gathering flowers, symbolizing the grasping which arises from desire for 'pleasure.'

10. A pregnant woman, symbolizing the certainty of rebirth as a result of our grasping at life.

11. A woman bearing a child, symbolizing the actual process of rebirth.

12. A corpse, symbolizing the death which follows one birth and precedes the next.

From these several examples, which are by no means the most profound, but rather the more popular sort of Tibetan teaching, it will be obvious that the Tibetans are very far from being the ignorant, degraded followers of a debased religion. On the contrary, they are so deeply religious and spend so much time upon religious study, meditation and discussion that they have amplified the inherent doctrines, filling in the details from their own religious experience, until Tibetan religious works have come to be almost the bulkiest Buddhist literature in the world. Moreover, the quality of much of this literature is extremely high. It may be pointed out that, in some instances, the Tibetans have departed from the original teaching of the Lord Buddha. But any Buddhist would be unwise to cast this particular stone at Buddhists in another country.

It is not the intention here to give the impression that the Tibetans, because they are religious, are a very serious and gloomy people. Very much to the contrary, they are gay and full of humour. If, in their more serious moments, they find life sad (and who, during such moments, does not?), they certainly make the best of it.

The outstanding characteristics of the Tibetans, most of which have at least been touched on here, would seem to be due to a fairly rare combination of circumstances. On the one hand, the Tibetans are (in a sense) a very simple people, mountaineers who have no conception of the complexity of city life and who have remained almost untouched by the great changes which have destroyed the traditions of other races. On the other hand, thanks to the wisdom of their kings more than a thousand years ago, they have for centuries drunk deeply at fountains of wisdom from both India and China. One remembers that in the middle centuries of the first millennium after Christ, some of the most learned scholars of Christian Europe went out to inhabit the wild coastlands of Scotland and Ireland. The combination of extreme

simplicity and profound scholarship which doubtless resulted from this must surely have had a close resemblance to the cultural atmosphere of Tibet today.

It may be thought that the author is inclined to look at the Tibetans through rose-coloured spectacles. It may also be that a longer residence in that lovely part of the world might cause him to modify some of his opinions. But, in self-defence he can say that most of those few writers who have had the opportunity to come in close contact with the more highly cultured Tibetans share his enthusiasm to a very considerable degree. And in that part of the region contained in India proper will be found quite a few Westerners who have settled down for the rest of their lives, partly no doubt because of the bracing climate and the gorgeous scenery, but largely because they find the Tibetans such a fascinating and congenial people. If the author were sentenced, for a crime, real or imagined, to perpetual exile in one or the other of the Tibetan lands, he should be inclined to present the judge with his cherished Volkswagon, useless in Tibet, as a trifling token of esteem to a most generous benefactor.

EARLY CIVILIZATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA[1]

BY

Soekmono

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It is not easy to deal with a subject like the "Early civilizations in South-East Asia," because its scope, geographically as well as chronologically, is not well defined. This enquiry, therefore, is confined to a very small part of the subject matter, *viz.*, the early Çrivijaya period in Sumatra. It was in the Southeast Asia of the early centuries, A.D., that Çrivijaya maritime power played a prominent part.

It is not the intention here to deal with results of new investigations, or with new results of former researches, if any. In viewing the studies of competent scholars of the Çrivijaya problem one is struck by the fact that they have failed to consider certain available data. The purpose of this present enquiry, therefore, is to draw attention to this neglect, and to contribute to further considerations of the problem.

Çrivijaya, indeed, has addled the brains of a great number of archaeologists, linguists and historians.[2] Without detracting from the merits of these experts, it must be pointed out that all of them have used only archaeological data and historical documents. The use of these is necessary and reasonable, but if other data are available, they should certainly be use also.

The geographical configuration of Sumatra during the Çrivijaya period has always been overlooked. There has never been any question that Sumatra's eastern coast line was quite different from what it is now. This has been so much taken for granted, indeed, that further consideration of the matter has been neglected.

1. From a paper read by the author at the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, November-December, 1957, Bangkok.

2. See especially K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's *History of Sri Vijaya*, University of Madras, 1949.

A good preliminary study of the problem may be found in Obdeyn's interesting articles in which he discussed the geomorphological development of Sumatra according to historical annals and other documents since about the beginning of the Christian era.[3] He came to the conclusion that in those days the present alluvial lowland of Sumatra's east coast did not exist. The Malay Peninsula stretched to Bangka and Billiton, including what is now the Riauw Archipelago. Sunda Strait was still unknown, and Van Bemmelen even maintains that it did not exist either.[4] Those considerations undeniably change the whole geographical picture of the area and open up new perspectives.

In 1954, the Indonesian Government sent an archaeological team to South Sumatra.[5] Because an air-reconnaissance study of the Palembang region was also involved, a geomorphologist was added to the team. It was then that geomorphology and hence Obdeyn's studies came onto our archaeological horizon.

The team in general achieved no spectacular results. But the air-reconnaissance, when combined with explorations on the ground, yielded surprising results. With the geological map in hand and the geomorphological findings as a guide, the Indonesian archaeologists discovered that the alluvial lowland of Sumatra's east coast is well defined from the elevated older geological formations, and that the cities of Palembang and Djambi are situated right on the border of this highland. Because these two places are situated on the coast, we may provisionably assume that the line marking the alluvial from the older formations was the Çrivijaya coast line. We see, then, that Palembang lies at the very end of a narrow promontary and Djambi is situated on a deeply penetrating gulf.

3. Obdeyn, "De oude Zeehandelsweg door de Straat van Malaka in verband met de geomorfologie der Selat - eilanden." *Tijdschrift Aardrijkskundig Genootschap 2e Reeks*, vol. LIX, 1942.

4. Van Bemmelen, *The Geology of Indonesia*, vol. I, 1950, pp. 298 - 299.

5. Complete report in "Amerta," 3, 1954 (Indonesian language).

From this calculation of the land accretions by the Musi and Batanghapi rivers, Van Bemmelen has reached the conclusion that the alluvial belt may indeed have come into existence since the beginning of the Christian era.[6] Bearing in mind that the starting point of the alluvial deposition of the Musi lies near Sekayu (roughly, as the crow flies, 100 km. inland from Palembang), and of the Batanghari near Muaratambesi (about 60 km. inland from Djambi), we may safely conclude that even in the early Çrivijaya period Palembang as well as Djambi was situated on the coast.

Which of these two places should be Çrivijaya's center or capital? The general assumption has been that it is Palembang. In the light of geomorphological reconstruction of the coast line, however, there are several factors which indicate that Djambi was the site.

Dr. Verstappen, geomorphologist for the Topographical Survey of Indonesia, who travelled with the team, told the author informally that he rejects Obdeyn's opinion concerning the expanse of the Malay Peninsula. His argument is that it stretched only as far south as the island of Sinkep. Judging from the hydrographical map, one has to accept this thesis as the more plausible, and that Bangka and Billiton were separate islands. If this is true the ancient route from India separated into two forks off the Gulf of Djambi; one turned north to the left toward China and the other continued southward to Java. From this it is only logical to assume that Djambi must have been the principal port along the Strait of Malacca, the only sea route.

Another fact which favours Djambi as the site is the existence of three islands, as indicated on the geological map, at the entrance of the Gulf of Djambi. On one of those islands lies the present village of Muara Sabak. Muara means "mouth of a river," but a river named Sabak does not exist. We are left, therefore, with the name Sabak, which suggests to us the three Sabadeibai islands in Ptolemys' itinerary, which Krom has located on Sumatra's southeast coast,[7] Deibai may be identified with *dvipa*,

6. Van Bemmelen, *The Geology of Indonesia*, vol. I. 1950, pp. 299 - 300.

7. Krom, N.J., *Hindoe Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd. ed. 1931 p. 60.

(or three); leaving us with *sabarom*. Can this saba with its three islands, which formed an anchorage for ships before they moved on to Djambi, to Java or to China, be identified with our present Sabak ?

The scarce epigraphical material does not, in the opinion of the author, favour Palembang as the site of Çrivijaya's capital. The Telaga Batu inscription found in the city of Palembang "consists of a long imprecation directed toward the perpetrators of all possible crimes against the king and the state of Çrivijaya." [8] It is scarcely plausible that such a monument would have been erected in the actual capital of the state. The monument must, rather, have been the safeguard of a victorious king who had conquerred Palembang. It is equally probable that the inscriptions found at Kotakapur and Karangbrahi, which contain similar inscriptions, have the same meaning. Kotakapur, situated on the northwestern coast of Bangka and opposite Palembang, had complete control of the sea route, while Karangbrahi controlled the land route from Djambi to the west and the north. Up to the present, large quantities of gold dust have been found in the Upper Djambi region. With a view to the name Suvarnadvipa or Suvarnabhumi, this fact may support the above presumption.[9]

Further pursuit of the interesting Çrivijaya problem may be found in reading Moens' *Çrivijaya, Yava en Kataha*[10] and Roland Braddell's intriguing series of articles entitled "An introduction to the studies of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca."[11] These studies, when placed under the new light of the palaeogeographical configurations discovered by the archaeological team, may well help us to obtain the true answers to the problem of the location Çrivijaya's capital.

8. de Casparis, J.G., "Selected inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th, A.D.," "*Prasasti Indonesia*," vol. II, 1956.

9. See also *The Geology of Indonesia*, vol. I, 1950, p. 299.

10. *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap*, vol. LXXVII, 1937.

11. In several volumes of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch*.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDIAN AND WESTERN MUSIC[1]

by

Swami Agehananda Bharati

Those who are familiar with both Indian and Western music are well acquainted with the terms that are used most often to distinguish the two. Indian music is called melodious, and Western music, harmonious. Everyone knows that Western music is melodious, too, but "melodious" as it is applied here is a technical term. We shall commence our enquiry by explaining and exemplifying these two terms.

By "melodious" we mean tunes in which everything rests on the succession of tones. We enjoy their sequence and the esthetic pattern given in that sequence. By "harmonious" we mean, apart from the succession of tones, their partial simultaneity —the chord, and in a more complex stage, the counterpoint. In every part each "voice" sings his or her own tune, more or less, and it is their simultaneous combination which the Western ear enjoys. This is of course no randum combination, but a highly cultivated one, obeying accoustic laws discovered long ago — a discovery older than any known musical score. Long before Aristotle, Pythagoras and his disciples experimented with strings of various lengths, noting consonances and dissonances while striking them at the identical moment; one school of the history of mathematics has it that Pythagorean mathematics was a sequel of these musical. or at least acoustical, experiments.

In India, strangely enough, there has never been any such original experimentation in music. The possibility of tones accoustically complementary, providing a means to simultaneous musical expression was never explored there. It was only after contact with Western music, late in the last century, that a few composers

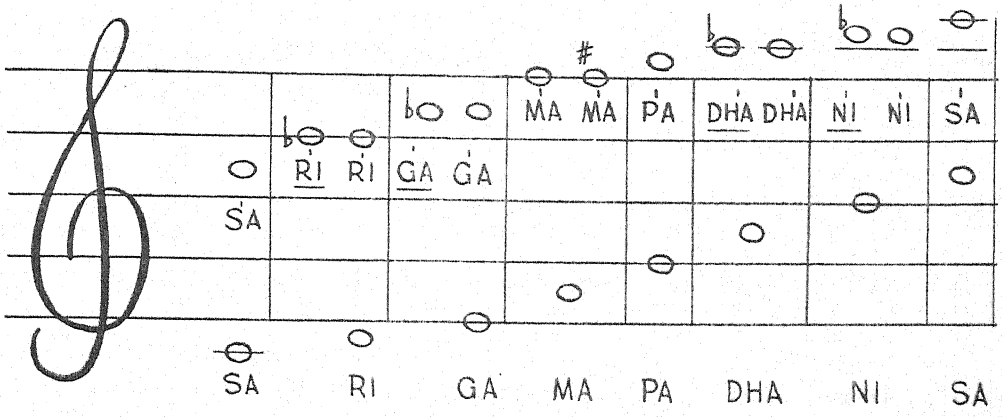
1. Adapted from a lecture given at the May 16, 1956, meeting of the Siam Society. Selected records of Indian and Western music were used to illustrate the author's enquiry.

began to experiment in a somewhat clumsy fashion. If one listens to a classical piece of South Indian music and tries to imagine a concurrent part—either in the form of another voice, a chorus, or in the accompaniment—he will feel that no such part could be added or inserted. Indian music requires a trained ear just as good Western music does— for the Western-trained ear, enjoyment of Indian music necessitates the acquisition of a new taste, just as liking Western music is an acquired taste for the Indian. Indian and Western music are not in any way competitors for the prize of greater beauty, for they belong to entirely different traditional patterns. Hence, just as one would switch over from the BBC to New Delhi on his radio, he will have to switch over from one kind of musical experience to another. He cannot listen with the same ear to both Indian and Western music with satisfaction, althongh there are some bases for comparison. There is, for example, a Sanskrit poem in praise of the Goddess Kamakshi who resides in the shrine of Conjeeveram in South India, in which the violin repeats the singer's phrase without any addition or alteration. It is something like the canon of Western classical music of which Haydn and Mozart were particularly fond.

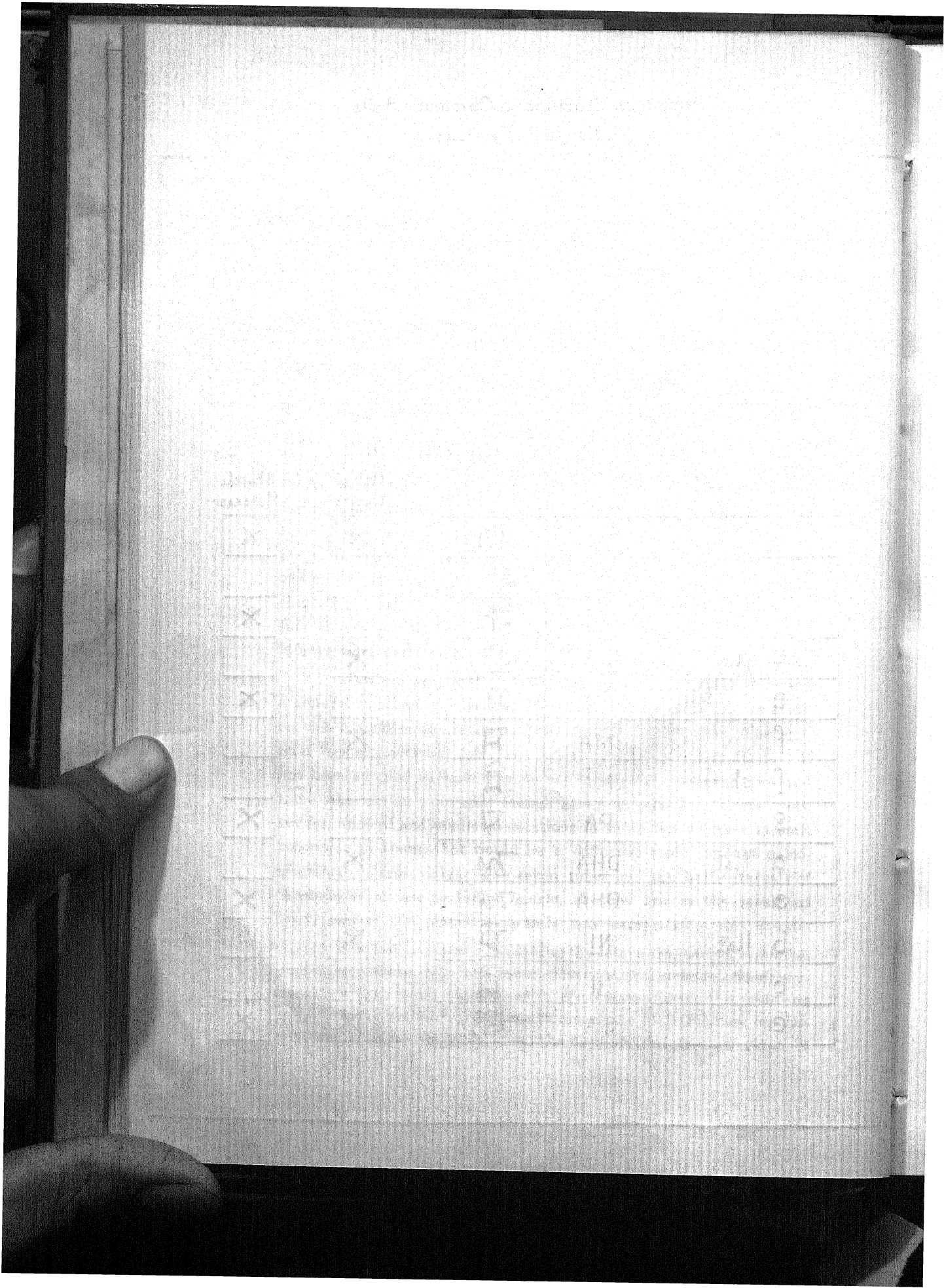
Now we are right in the centre of our quest, and presuming a general familiarity with the Western musical notation, we shall, on this basic discuss the formal elements of Indian music. The common Western notation has been in use since well before Bach. It has been adopted in Siam, and, to my knowledge, also in Japan and some other Asian countries, though never in India. There were several ancient and medieval notations in India, but we have to omit reference to them; that would be a different topic, and of paleographical interest only. The seven tones and the half-intervals of Western music are in Indian music, as they are in the music of every part of the world with only few exceptions.

The Indian notes constituting the octave are *shadja*, *rishabha*, *gandhara*, *madhyama*, *panchama*, *dhaivata*, and *nishada*. Their etymology is not clear throughout. *Madhyama* means the middling one, (Siamese *mathyom*), *panchama* means the fifth (Siamese *benchama*), and *shadja*, the sixth, from the most ancient notation given in

Comparative Noration in Chromatic Scale
(Indian and Western)



			Malava Kausika	Bhupali Mohanam
c	SA		×	×
d flat	RI			
d	RI			×
e flat	GA		×	
e	GA			×
f	MA		×	
f sharp	MĀ			
g	PA			×
a flat	DHA		×	
a	DHA			×
b flat	NI		×	
b	NI			
c	SA		×	×



the *Natyashastra* of Bharata, of about the second century B.C., which is the canonical text of Indian music and the oldest extant text on the subject in India. *Rishabha* means a bull; *dhaivata*, *nishada*, and perhaps *gandhara* refer to birds. The hypothesis is that originally some absolute pitch might have been indicated, under the naive assumption that the matured animal and bird voices have the same pitch within the species. For musical practice, these seven notes are abbreviated into *sa* for *shadja*, *ri* for *rishabha*, *ga* for *gandhara*, *ma* for *madhyama*, *pa* for *panchama*, *dha* for *dhaivata* and *ni* for *nishada*; this is how we shall refer to them. It must be borne in mind, however, that there is no such thing as an absolute notation as in Western music, where the standard 'a' is about 440 vibrations of the tuning-fork. The basic Indian note is *sa*, but the singer intones his own *sa* relative to his voice and to his disposition at each performance, and the accompanying instruments tune their *sa* to his. For convenience's sake, we shall equate *sa* with *c*, so that the fundamental Indian scale, *sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa*, is translated as the c-major scale, and transcribed as here, *c d e f g a b* and *c* (see chart). The chromatic intervals have the same names as the full ones distinguishable in the Indian notation only by diacritical marks above the letter. The tones in India have never been symbolized as round notes, but always as letters, as in the antique and early medieval West. Here, they are, of course, letters of the Sanskrit alphabet.

An Indian instrument indispensible to all musical performances is called the *tanpura*. Its job is to hold the drone and nothing but the drone. It is not an independent instrument; its functions could be said to correspond to the pedal-note of the organ. The four strings, starting from *c*, are two equal *c's* in the two central strings, the *c* of the lower octave on the right string, and either *e*, *f*, or *g* on the left, according to the mode of the piece. This is the only case where there is a kind of primitive chord; the four strings are plucked in regular succession, and the chord basic to the tune results. The *tanpura* is used along with vocal as with all kinds of instrumental music; accompanying, for instance, a violin solo, it sounds

redundant to the Western ear, but of course it is no more redundant to the Indian musician than the pedal-note is to the organ player. The instrument is made of the wood of the jack-fruit tree or of some other light wood, and at the lower end there is a large gourd, a real gourd of a particular Indian variety, encased in a thin layer of soft wood. This gourd and fruits of similar size and shape are frequently used for Indian instruments; they serve to enlarge the volume of the tone or the chord.

If we view things from the point of polyphonous Western music, *i.e.*, music composed after the fourteenth century, Indian music is entirely monodic; there is only a single part in any musical piece, there is no counterpoint and no chord. The stress is entirely on the melody. In the West, music was monodic until the end of the Middle Ages. It was the Renaissance which along with other pleasant heresies introduced the counterpoint and polyphonous music, though some rudimentary attempts can be traced to antiquity. It seems that certain portions of the Sophoclean tragedy, recited by the commenting chorus, had two parts in their tune. We know virtually nothing about it. But monodic music is known in the West; the original plainsong is believed to be purely so. If we compare a Latin plainsong of the 10th century with a Sanskrit invocation of the 17th century (the most fertile period of Indian music), we find a similar temporal extension of the tones, not only on the vowels as in Latin, but also on some consonants, especially the nasals.

Before going further, we shall have to deal with a few technical terms. They are Sanskrit, and they have no exact equivalents in Western musical terminology. We shall not use more than half a dozen of them, but even the most elementary discussion is impossible without them. The main term to be adumbrated is *raga*. Etymologically, it means a 'sentiment' or a 'humour' in the sense of antique psychology, one of the four humours. Later on, it came to stand for a particular group of sentiments, that of passion, anger, and erotic excitement. The Sanskrit word for colour is derived from the same root (*ranj*). We may aver that it came to mean all

those sentiments to which folklore ascribes the colour red. As a musical term, it is the most important in Indian music. A crude interpretation would simply be 'melody,' but that would be insufficient and misleading. We have the scales of Western music, and there are of course as many scales as there are notes in the octave, or twice as many, *i.e.*, the major and the minor keys. The *raga* is a kind of mongrel between a scale and a key, but it is closer to the latter. According to the canonical texts of Indian music, there are seven, and according to another ancient scheme, twenty-six *ragas*. Each of them has a number of *raginis* and *bharyas*, which literally mean 'wives' (originally all *ragas* were supposed to be masculine entities). Hence, we may say Western music has only two *ragas*, *i.e.*, the major and the minor keys, plus a few more in extremely old music and in jazz, which do not belong to these two categories. It follows that Indian music is richer than Western music if the purely melodic development is alone taken into account. The Indian melody is at once richer and more complicated than any Western tune. Indian music has intervals smaller than a half step, that is, the skilled musician and singer can produce, and the skilled audience, distinguish, another tone between *e* and *f*, or *b* and *c*. It is for this reason that the piano, the organ, and harmonium-like contraptions are despised by the good musician in India, and used only for the most inferior kind of music, film-music, about which we shall have more to say later.

A *raga*, then, is a melody-type, *i.e.*, a particular set of notes in the octave, occurring in defined patterns and excluding at times one or two notes of the octave. This is not so intricate as it sounds; put more simply though not quite correctly, a *raga* is a skeleton-tune, consisting of prescribed notes and forbidding certain other notes. There are *ragas* having five tones; they are called pentatonic in Western terminology and are frequent in plainsong and older Western music, too. Their distinct gravity and solemnity makes for their use in sacral music, which was experienced in India and the West alike. For example, there is a pentatonic *raga* called *malavakausika* in Sanskrit, *malkons* in the modern northern vernacular, and

hindolam in the south. *Hindolam* means a swing; the derivation of *malavak ausika* is not clear (it may be a geographical allusion); and *malava* is the ancient name for Mewar, a district in the present Rajasthan. Each *raga* is depicted as some human, semi-human, or divine figure, male or female, and a great amount of Indian painting has had *raga* as a subject. Each *raga* has a *dhyana*, *i.e.*, a meditation, and it was from the suggestion of these *dhyanas* that *ragas* were painted; the *dhyana* is a maxim couched in a Sanskrit *shloka* or verse, a sort of mnemonic aid. This pentatonic *malkons* is depicted as a *bhairava*, a semidivine attendant of the God Shiva and sometimes almost identified with Him. Of uncanny looks, smeared with white ashes from the cremation ground, a red staff in his hand, a garland of human skulls hanging from his neck, with a red belt fastened around his waist covered by a tiger skin, a wandering ascetic like Shiva Himself, the Lord of mendicants, this is the *dhyana* of *raga malkons*. Every *raga* has to be performed at a particular hour; *malkons* is sung and played just after midnight. The *raga malkons* consists of the notes *sa*, *ga*, *ma*, *dha*; *ni*, *pa re* are forbidden. In English notation, these would be c, *e-flat*, *f*, *a-flat*, and *b-flat*.

In a *malkons* performed in the strict north-Indian classical tradition called *khyal* (a Persian word which means 'fantasy'), a considerable scope for improvisation is left to the artist, there being no prescribed rhythm in the first part. This part has no words and is nothing but the *raga* spun out on the vowel 'a.' This initial part of the musical piece, irrelevant whether sung or played on an instrument, is the *alapanam*, which is Sanskrit again and means a discourse, a disquisition or simply a conversation; the artist holds a kind of monologue with the impersonal creator of the *raga*. An expert audience is interested chiefly in the *alapanam*, the portion which is the most trying for the layman. In a classical musical soiree in India, one will find the artist working out his *alapanam* for thirty minutes, and finishing the rest, containing the actual song, in barely ten.

The other compulsory item in any musical piece is the *tanam*; the word derives from the Sankrit root *tan*, and is related to the Indo-European root *ten-*, as in tend, tension (Latin *temdo* and *tendo*) and it means stretching or extending the tune. The *tanam* is perhaps the most typically Indian feature in Indian music; it requires special voice-training, and for the Western listener it demands the greatest amount of aural adaptation. It might be compared, to an extent, with coloratura; the difference between the two being the rarity of the coloratura in the West, and the ubiquity of the *thanam* in Indian music. The thanom is next in importance only to the *alapanam*, to which, however, there is nothing even remotely similar in Western music. The other difference is, of course, the technique involved in each style. Coloratura is a staccato art, *i.e.*, the individual tones require separate laryngeal concussions in quick successions, whereas the *thanam* is executed in one breath and the intervals are achieved by rapid extensions and contractions of the larynx; to the uninitiated, *thanam* at first tends to sound definitely unpleasant. The auther made a countering test in India and observed that to the Indian singer who is unfamiliar with Western music, coloratura sounds funny rather than unpleasant. When a record of it was played for one of the three top musicians of North India, he and his party, musicians of standing all of them, roared with laughter.

Another element of Indian music is its rhythm and its measure. Music being far more intimately connected with dance in India than anywhere else (the oldest text, the *Nayashastra* of Bharata already mentioned, deals with both music and dance as two aspects of the same art), the emphasis on rhythm is enormous. The Indian word *tala*, whose etymology is opaque, is extremely ancient and occurs in the *Rigveda*, the oldest collection of Indian literature, with considerable frequency. Just as musical instructions were given at the beginning of the Psalms and other poetry in the Old Testament, instructions about *raga* and *tala* were given in these most ancient Indian texts. Two cake-like instruments are closely

connected with the *tala*. The two pieces constitute a single instrument called the *tabla*, the North Indian finger-drum. In the South, the more elegant and accoustically richer *mridanga* is used. The *dholak* is a drum used for folksongs, religious litanies and similar unsophisticated entertainment. The *tabla* and the *mridanga* have a function similar to that of the conductor in Western music, and to compare its position to that of the Western drum or kettle-drum would be quite wrong. In Western music, the drums are just instruments among their neighbours, aimed at stressing certain phrases and enhancing the total volume. Not so in Indian music; the *tabla* or *mridanga* are independent or guiding tools. *Tabla* solos are very popular, and the *tabla* player is the most important, the most indispensible and, next to the singer, the most expensive musician. Whereas the *tala* is an abstract entity like time or measure, and means just that, the *tabla* or *mridanga* are, as it were, the embodiment of the *tala*, something like an audible conductor's baton.

There are over thirty meters in Indian music, some of them obsolescent or obsolete. Their names are similar to those of Western music, like *chartal*, which means "four-measure," and *ektal*, which means "one-measure." Some have fancy names or are onomatopoetic, like *dadra*. The professional *tabla*-player adds the most incredible ornaments, speed, and a host of the most breath-taking feats on the instrument. Each touch of the fingers and hands has a sound-symbol, a name as it were, so that each drum-beat can be dictated literally; this is of great importance with dance, where the instructor dictates the movements of the feet.

Khyals are usually performed in the meter called *ektal*, or 'one-measure," though the nomenclature does not seem to have any bearing on the meter. This meter has twelve beats, and its dictation runs "*dhin dhin dhage tirakita dhun na, kat dha dhage tirakita dhin na.*" Because the *mridanga* is a far more powerful instrument than the *tabla*, South Indian music has come to be more rhythmical and stricter in its time. This probably accounts for the fact that Western musicians prefer South Indian music to the Northern style-

With this much knowledge of Indian music, one can now follow the pattern of any complete musical piece, a *kriti*, in any performance of classical Indian music. There is little modification in the programmatic arrangements of the North and the South, and almost none as between vocal and instrumental performance. The first part of the *kriti* is the *alapanam*; here the *raga* is displayed without any accompaniment and the artist has to show his power of improvisation; his limits are set only by the *raga* itself. When the drum sets in upon a definite concluding phrase known to the *tabla*-player, the part then commencing is called the *sthayi* in the North, the *pallavi* in the South. Here the text of the song is introduced, though usually as yet only the first line or even just the first two or three words. In the ensuing *antara* (*anupallavi* in the South), the rest of the text is sung, the rhythm frequently changes, and so does the speed. This part has an amazing, albeit purely accidental, functional similarity to the *Abgesang*, the final part of the schematized song of the Meistersingers in medieval Germany. The didactic stanza in Wagner's opera could almost literally apply to the Indian *kriti*; "darauf nun folgt der Abgesang, der sei auch etlich Verse lang und hab' sein besonder Melodei, als nicht im Stollen zu finden sei." This means roughly that the Abgesang should also take a few verses, and should have its separate tune such as had not been used in the previous part. Here 'tune' must not be understood to mean a different *raga* in the analogy; the *antara* is just a novel combination of the notes and phrases of the *raga*, relative to the previous parts of the *kriti*.

The last part is the *thanam*, that coloratura-like, most intricate portion of Indian music; here the text is no longer reiterated, except at times a salient word or phrase of it, and this only in the North; the rest runs on the vowel "aaa." In the South, the names of the notes, *sa re ga ma pa*, etc., are sung in the *thanam* in lieu of a text, a most delightful interpretion of its import.

The closest Western analogy to the arrangement of the Indian *kriti* is the *rondo.* There is, however, no symphonic music nor any programme music in India in any sense comparable to the classical and romantic compositions of the West. We do not know whether there was a common root at any time; if there was any, it must have been thousands of years ago and it is not expedient in a subject like ours to venture conjecture on the basis of the somewhat mythical home of the Indo-European race. It would, moreover, tell against our purpose, because it seems most certain that Indian music as we know it today derives to a large extent from non-Indo-European sources, from the Dravidian background. The oft-mentioned *Natyashatra* of Bharata was a South Indian work, written at a time when Sanskrit had penetrated the South, giving an intellectual guidance to the Brahmins. Professor Subbramania Shastry, the first authority on the history of Indian music, suggested that there was a more ancient work on musical scales in Old Tamil, of which, he thinks, Bharata's magnum opus was an elaborate exegesis in Sanskrit. The only ancient mode that is decidedly Aryan is the Saman-chant of the Veda, a simple tetratonic mode preserved, incidentally, again in the extreme South only. An example of the Vedic chant, the Srisukta, the oldest extant Aryan hymn to the mother-goddess Sri, later on identified with Lakshmi, the spouse of Vishnu, may be compared with any Gregorian chant of the Roman Catholic Church, in a simple and frequent phrase like "dixit Dominus ad Dominum meum."

A few words about Indian instruments are necessary here. There is a great variety of them, and the main difference between them and their Western counterparts is that of volume. There is no Indian instrument of great volume (hardly a disadvantage), in spite of the gourds that appear so large. There is no brass of any kind; everything is wood, weeds, or fruit-shell. Strings are no doubt of metal, but the volume depends on the resonance-body.

The most ancient instrument is the *veena*, a string-instrument, a permanent emblem of the goddess Sarasvati, the tutelary of the arts and of learning, wife of the demiurg Brahma. The *veena* is mentioned in the oldest texts. Strangely, there is no extant indigenous bow-string instrument; whatever you hear today in India, the *esraj*, *mayurveena*, *sarangi*, or the *dilruba*, are later adaptations for imported music, that of Persia, in particular. This influence never reached the South, where the oldest tradition has remained entirely unbroken in music and dance. It was due to this want for a string instrument that the violin found entry into South India some sixty years ago. Today it is the most popular solo and accompanying instrument.

The two most popular string instruments in the North are the *sitar* and the *sarod*, the former a kind of simplified *veena*, with frets beneath eight strings, the latter a sort of big mandolin without frets, and played with a plectrum. The somewhat hard sound, resulting from the lack of overtones, resembles that of the virginal of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The conception of an orchestra in the Western sense is not known to the Indian instrumentalist, for an orchestral score implies polyphony. In recent years, there have been various attempts to introduce something of the kind, but such performances by an orchestra are really just the classical *kritis* played by more than one instrument at a time. These orchestras never exceed ten players. A dislike for this type of performance is shared by many people in India. It is generally felt that orchestras do not fit into the tradition and therefore make for crudeness. There is a general mistrust of musical innovations that lean on Western models. The films, whose music is the dross and curse of modern Indian art, have usurped these inovations and this naturally deters good musicians from using the orchestral medium. The regrettable fact remains that the most of Indians, even those who ought to know better, accept the abominable trash the screen produces in huge quantity. No doubt the Government of India is trying its best to stem the tide of bad taste and fo vulgar choice

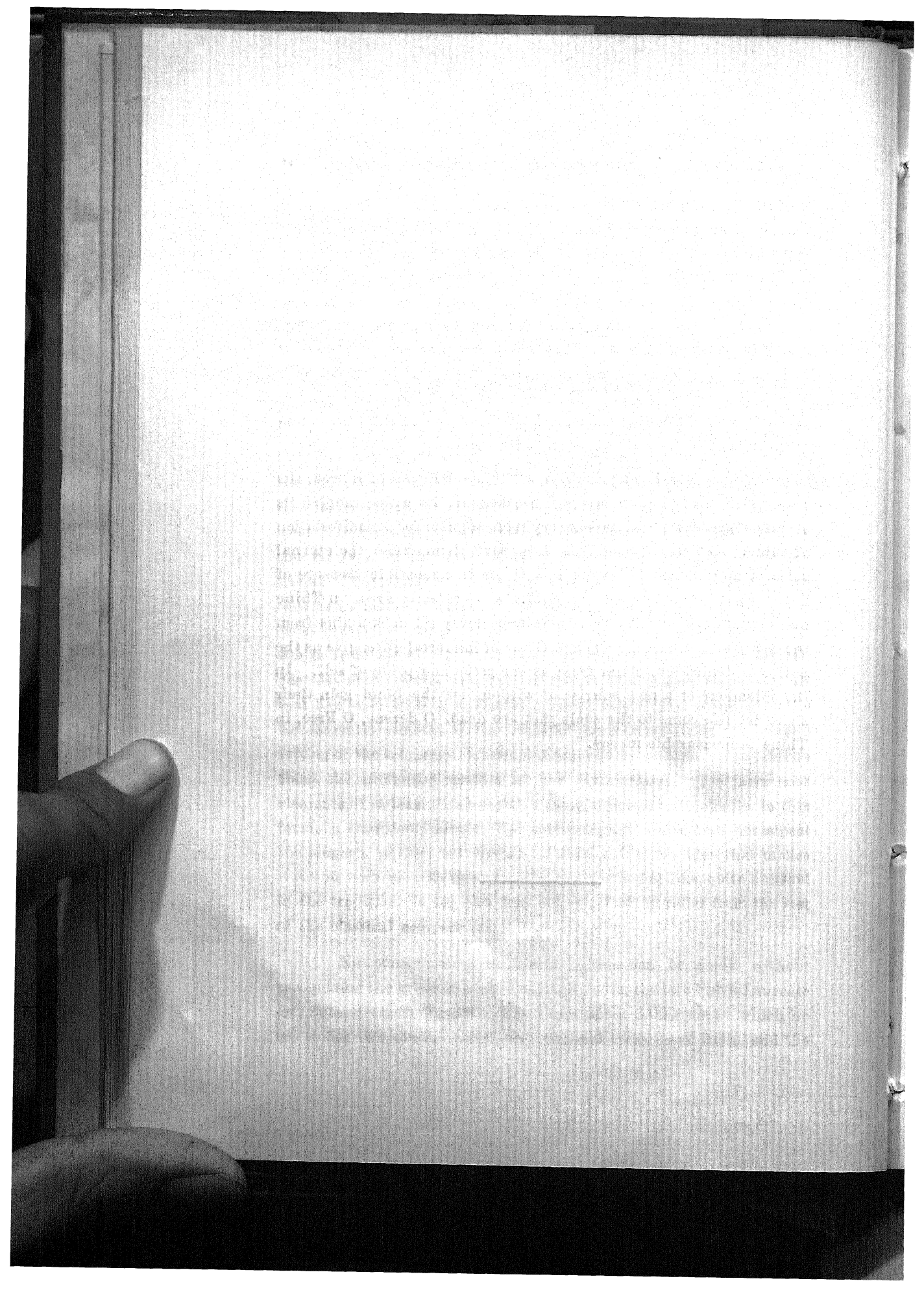
through certain restrictions placed on radio programmes and in educational curricula. It is to be hoped that its endeavour will be successful. The average Hindi film takes three hours, and about two thirds of it are musical pieces of this kind, neatly composed to last four minutes in order to provide lucrative gramophone recordings on ten-inch discs.

In the West, the term 'classical' when used in the musical context, means a particular historical period. In India, the term has no such connotation and is purely methodical; classical music in India means traditional music or, to be more correct, music subject to the rules of a *raga* and a *tala* and hence, in the final analysis, to the *Natyashastra*. To this we oppose modern music in India, music, that is, composed from non-canonical elements, mostly from some kind of folk-music, or independent creations of musicians. Usually the stress is on the text of the poem thus sung. There are two trends of contemporary Indian music. One type uses ancient literature as its material, pieces of Sanskrit poetry either in the original or in vernacular versions. An example is a modern rendering of a stanza from the famous lyric *Gitagovinda*, by the medieval Bengali poet Jayadeva, whose language is said to be the most elegant of all that has been written in Sanskrit before him. The poem describes the romantic exploits of the youthful Lord Krishna in the bucolic setting of the tradition. Radha, his beloved, complains to her friends about the prolonged absence of her divine lover. The piece uses elements of at least three *ragas*, a thing which is unthinkable, in this form, in traditional music. The accompanying violin does not repeat the singer's phrase, but brings its own, a Western idea that makes it sound very modern indeed. The end is Puccini-like, quite unusual in the tradition, as the end does not stand out in relief from the rest of the classical composition.

No consideration of Indian music can be made without recognizing the greatest poet of modern India, the late Nobél-Laureate Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. He wrote about 3,000 poems which he set to his own music. They are a national treasure of India, and the

musical life-blood of the Bengalis. The type of music Tagore used for his poems had various sources, but the chief ones were the old songs of the religious bards of Bengal, the Bauls and Bhatiyals. English translations of Indian poetry sound flat and almost always trivial, but then no poetry can be truly translated into another language. Tagore, however, was a master of English as well as of his native tongue. His translation of one of his own poetic songs cannot fail to give some idea of the phrasing of Indian music. This song, addressed to the Lord Buddha, is entitled "Hinsae Unmatho Prithivi," which freely translated is a call for all thinking earth-creatures not to do violence to one another:

"The world today is wild with the delirium of hatred, the conflicts are cruel and unceasing, crooked are its paths, tangled its meshes of greed; all creatures are crying in anguish for a manifestation of thine. O Thou of boundless life, save them, raise the eternal voice of hope. Let love's lotus with its inexhaustible treasure of honey open its petals in thy light. O Serene, O Free, in Thine immeasurable mercy and goodness wipe away all dark stains from the heart of the earth. Though Giver of immortal gifts, give us the power of dedication, claim from us our greed and pride of self. In the splendour of a new sunrise of wisdom let the blind gain their sight, let life come to the souls that are dead. O Serene, O Free, in Thine immeasurable mercy."



THE YUNG-KAN CAVES
One of Buddhism's Earliest Manifestations in China

by

Nicolai Geelmuyden

Some five hundred miles, or a journey of twelve hours by train, northwest of Peking lies the ancient city of Tatung, today an overgrown village of about 200,000 inhabitants, but once, for more than sixty years, the capital of the short-lived kingdom of Northern Wei (*Chinese*, Pei Wei).

The history of Tatung goes back some two thousand years to the beginning of the great Han dynasty which ruled over most of what we today know as China (206 B.C. to 221 A.D.). The original city of Tatung lay about ten miles east of the present town and was called Ping Tsen – the City of Ping. All that remains of Ping Tsen today is a large mound, unexplored and untouched for nearly 2000 years, a mound which very probably contains untold treasures of archeology, a veritable gold mine for future research.

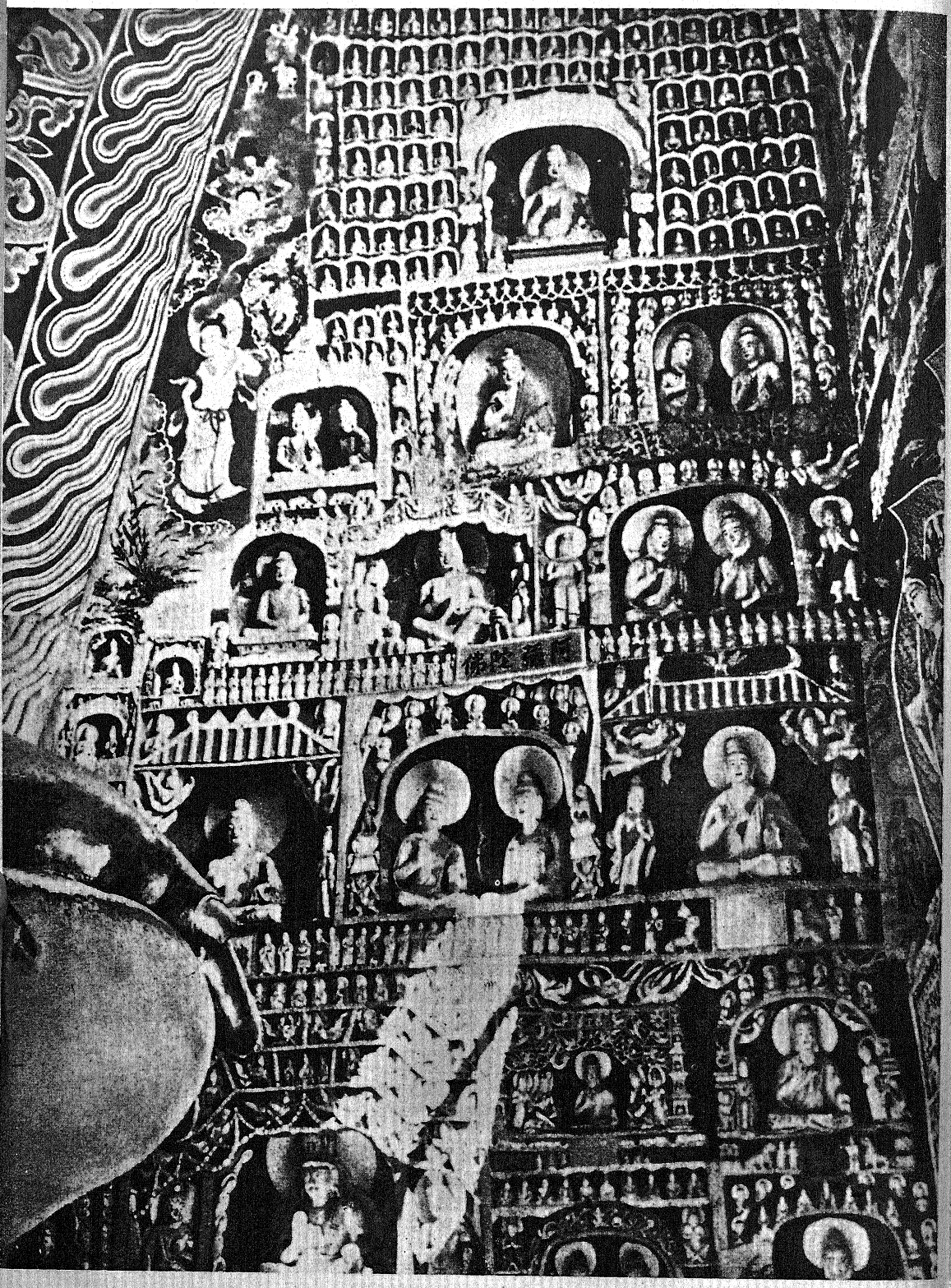
When the Great Han fell in 220 A.D., North China was divided into three separate states during a period known in Chinese history as The Three Kingdoms. Wei, Shu Han and Wu were these three Kingdoms. Tatung belonged to the Wei, and for a few years, of which history tells us little, it was the capital of the northern part of the kingdom. All we know is that the Wei was swallowed up by the Western Kingdom of Tsin which conquered most of Northern China. For nearly two hundred years Tatung disappeared from the pages of history, to re-emerge in 556 A.D., under the name of Huan-An Chen as the capital of the new kingdom of Northern Wei.

Persian and Arabic travellers have left glowing descriptions of the glory and riches of Huan-An Chen, where streets were paved with gold and terraced gardens alternated with palisades of glimmering white marble. This is probably a poetic exaggeration; there is no marble anywhere near Tatung and the climatic conditions are not particularly conductive to pleasure gardens.

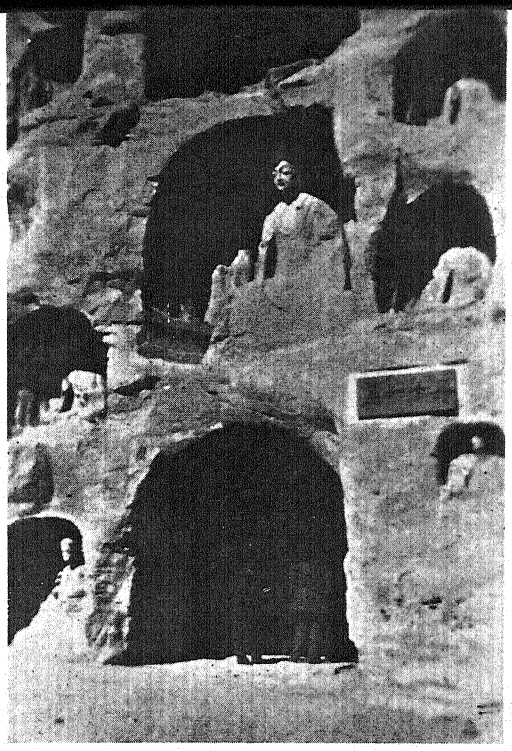
In 494 A.D., the capital was moved to Loyang in the province of Honan, a little to the southwest of Tatung. The Northern Wei succumbed to the short-lived Sui dynasty which in turn gave way in 618 A.D. to the Great Tang (618-906 A.D.). The Tang once more reunited China, and Wei disappeared forever. During these five centuries Tatung slumbered away as a provincial capital under changing names, such as Pei-hun Chou, Yun Chu, and Yun-chung.

After the fall of the Great Tang, or Tang Dynasty, in 907 A.D., China disintegrated into a number of small, warring states, during a period that was known as that of the Five Dynasties and the Ten Kingdoms. In the year 937 A.D., Emperor Shih Chin-tang of the Late Tsin Dynasty gave up sixteen administrative areas of North China, including Tatung, as a bribe to the Khitan for its support to his short-lived reign. Sung Tai-tsu founded his new great dynasty, Sung (or Soong), in 960 A.D., and reunified China except for the sixteen northern administrative areas which still remained in the Khitan's possession. The Khitan's period of rule, known as the Liao Dynasty, was once so powerful that it threatened the very existence of the Sung by a large-scale invasion in 1004. But the invasion was frustated by the Sung Emperor, Chen-tsung, and a peace treaty was signed. Then a new nomadic tribe in Manchuria, Nü-chen, became strong enough to launch a powerful attack on the Khitan's rear. A military alliance between the Sung and Nü-chen rulers eventually brought about the downfall of the Liao Dynasty in 1125. While the alliance of Sung and Nü-chen was still effective, the sixteen areas were temporarily returned to the Sung emperor. Tatung was named Yung-chung Fu during that period. After the fall of the Liao Dynasty, the first period of the Sung Dynasty, or what is generally known as the Northern Sung Dynasty, came to an end in 1126 A.D., when the Nü-chens, assuming a new name, Chin, or Kin, for their dynasty, turned their spearheads against the Sung. Pien-ching, the present-day Kaifeng, the Sung capital, fell into the hands of the Chin, who afterwards again changed the name of Tatung to Hsi-Ching Tatung Fu.

The great figure of the Buddha outside cave no. 21, with the vaulted dome framing the head.
The most beautiful and probably the oldest of the sculptures.

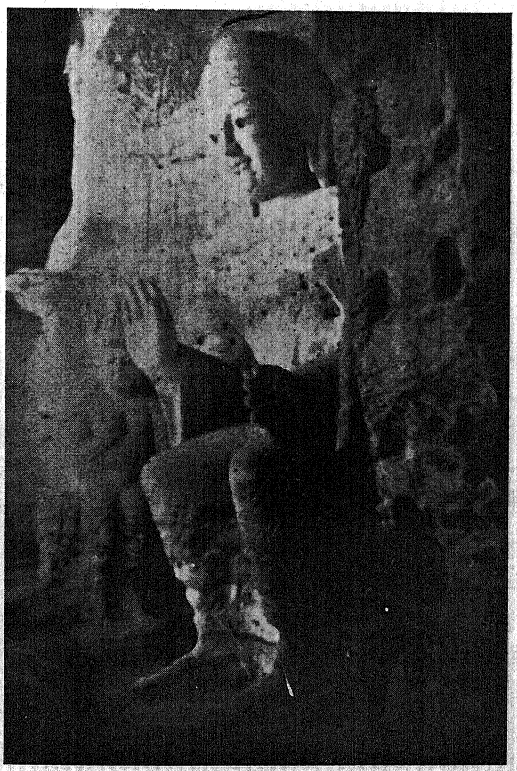


Statues of Buddha and Bodhisattvas in cave No. 13.

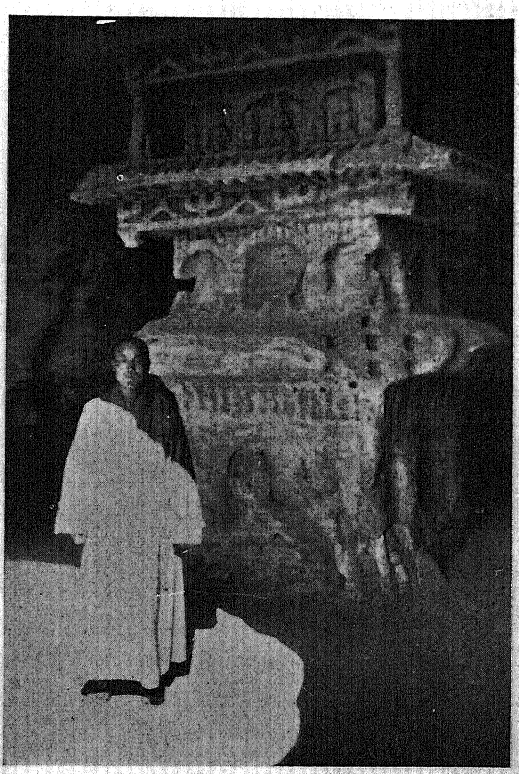


The entrance to cave No. 6, the so - called "Sukhyamuni - cave."

Dancing figures on a pillar in the unfinished cave No. 3, a curiously secular contrast to the devout figures behind.



The newly discorvered giant figure in one of the corridors. Compare its size with the author standing in its shadow.



A decorated stone pillar supporting the roof of cave No. 3, all carved out of the living rock.

Tatung today lies in a broad and sparcely populated valley some 1,000 metres above sea level. The air is dry and sharp, and visitors usually find breathing a little difficult during their first few days there. The fertile plain is green and lush during spring and summer, but after the harvest the yellow, sandy soil, stretching in great waves between the low and rugged hills into which the ocher, mud walls of the villages seem to melt, creates an atmosphere of consummate emptiness, broken occasionally by a black-clad peasant leading a heavily-laden donkey into what appears to be the back of beyond.

But there is one great and abiding reason why Tatung will remain alive in the memory of men. About sixteen miles west of the city lies a range of low, sandstone hills called the Yung-kan, the Cloud Hills, and one of the projecting arms of this range contains the cave temples which have made Tatung famous.

A narrow, winding road climbs through rugged gorges, past rambling streams and great stretches of barren sand to a height of nearly 1,300 metres, or 5,000 feet, above sea-level. On a projecting plateau towards the western end of the range lie the Yung-kan caves, twenty-one cave-temples cut out of the living rock and filled with more than 100,000 representations of the Buddha, ranging from figures over twenty yards in height to great numbers of tiny reliefs measuring less than an inch and covering the sides of the caves like printed wallpaper.

The origin of these caves is somewhat different from that of the other known historical monuments of this type. The oldest collection of Buddhistic cave temples in China, the Tunhuang caves, originated in the third century A.D., as a resting place for pilgrims on the way to Buddhism's holy shrines, and for travellers along the western trade route between the great empires of India and China. For well over a thousand years the Tunhuang caves grew in number as travellers left money there in gratitude for the health-giving rest and comfort afforded them on their strenuous journey. The number of monks who settled there increased until the development of modern

means of transport reduced the importance of caravan routes. This occurred at the time that the policy of the Chinese emperors isolated the great empire and cut it off from the rest of the civilized world. Gradually the Tunhuang caves became dilapidated. They were virtually forgotten until they were rediscovered by archeologists in recent years. Today in Tunhuang over 400 cave temples have been opened. They are filled with glorious frescoes, images, reliefs and sculptures, a veritable treasure house of ecclesiastic art. And there are in all probability still numberless caves which have not yet been opened and examined.

The Lungmen caves in Honan province, about 300 miles due south of Peking, have similar origins. They were built about 200 years later than the earliest caves in Tunhuang and very probably were inspired be them.

But the Yung-kan caves remain different from all others. They did not grow out of a manifestation of practical life like the Tunhuang and the Lungmen caves, nor out of a desire for religious seclusion like the hermit cave-retreats in the deserts of Asia Minor and Africa. The Yung-kan caves are the somewhat exhibitionist expression of the piety of one man, a piety which gradually developed into a religious mania, if not a megalomania.

It was the Emperor Wen Ch'eng Ti of the Northern Wei, who was a son of the great Emperor T'ai Wu Ti, and who, perhaps inspired by the Tunhuang caves which were then a hundred years old, and of which he as a devout Buddhist must have had knowledge, conceived the idea of acquiring merit by cutting places of worship into the mountains, thereby fashioning temples on a gigantic scale for his own personal use. The work was begun in 453 A.D., and 10,000 men laboured for forty years on the cutting and decoration of the caves. In 494 A.D., after the death of Wen Ch'eng Ti, the capital was moved to Loyang and the main volume of work was transferred to the Lungmen caves. But judging from the style of some of the figures in the Yung-kan caves, work must have continued there for about another hundred years. After that the caves seem

to have been abandoned and forgotten until the Ming Dynasty restored them after a fashion, during one of the resurrections of Buddhism in China in the 15th and 16th centuries. As the power of Buddhism waned, the caves were again forgotten until once more they were restored in the 18th century by the Manchus, who succeeded unfortunately in almost entirely effacing the original beauty of the sculptures. In later times much damage was done by local warring hordes who used the caves as amunition dumps, and by souvenir-hunting Japanese soldiers who carried away more than 600 heads of Buddhist statues. Now the caves are being cared for and they contain a number of relics that are sufficiently intact. Yung-kan today stands as one of the world's great religious monuments.

The whole temple-complex consists of twenty-one caves. For the convenience of visitors, the caves are numbered consecutively from east to west, although they were not built in that order. Records in the few historical annals that remain from the Northern Wei have helped to identify the individual caves, and their construction has been divided into three periods of approximately thirty years each, as follows:

1. The earliest period: Caves No. 16 to 20 were built and decorated under the leadership of the monk Tai-yao, and they are artistically by far the most inspired part of the temple.
2. The middle period: Caves No. 1 & 2 and 5 to 13, of which No. 6, the so-called Sukhyamuni cave, is the most beautiful and most richly decorated.
3. The later period: Caves No. 3, 14, 15 and 21, of which No. 3 is perhaps the most ambitious in conception though not in artistic design; it has remained unfinished.

The tragedy of the Yung-kan caves is that the hills into which they are cut and from which the statues and reliefs are carved

consist of a soft, porous sandstone which has not been able to withstand the ravages of sun, wind and water. Much of the decoration has eroded and is lost forever. But so great was the power and religious fervour of the Emperor Wen Ch'eng Ti that the work continued, although he as well as everyone else must have been fully aware of the ephemeral nature of the material on which a century of labour was being expended. Total erosion has destroyed numberless statues and reliefs, especially in the more open caves on the eastern side of the temple, but in the better protected and deeper caves of the center much of beauty and grandeur remains.

At the western end of the temple-complex stands the great statue of Gautama seated on a lotus bloom, seventeen metres high and fourteen metres broad, originally deep inside a cave, but now, because to the erosion of 1,500 years, it is in the open air. The upper part of the body is swathed in light draperies which remind one of the Indian Gupta style. In fact, the whole statue, with its finely chiselled features, its tender, meditative smile and its beautifully modelled hands in the gesture of "bringing the earth to witness," shows an unmistakable Indian influence which was probably derived from the Tunhuang caves. The statue is flanked by those of two disciples, and the vaulted canopy behind them, half of which must have been a great dome, frames their heads with a background of low reliefs depicting other positions of the Buddha and scenes from his life and teaching. Erosion has destroyed the contours of these reliefs, but the lines of the framework remain and add a gentle, curving flow to the entire complex of figures. The artist who created the figures is anonymous, and the date of his creation is not definitely known, but we can guess that it belongs to the earliest period. One may well imagine that this statue of the Buddha was the first inspired expression of the devout emperor's religious fervour. Possibly it was the success and beauty of this first attempt that spurred him on to produce the fantastic enlargements, which seem to have ended in complete megalomania for the colossal, but artistically much weaker statues, and for the extensive wallpaper-like reliefs of the later period.

In the unfinished cave No. 3, there is another colossal statue of Buddha, but it does not possess the meditative beauty of the earlier work. The walls of this cave are plastered with countless figures, many of which are in curious dancing postures. There seems to be no central purpose or meaning in the conception of the work in this cave.

But each cave, no matter how odd, contains many details of interest to the scholar. One curious detail is the scroll-like ornamentation found in several of them. It is definitely secular and unlike anything seen in other Buddhist shrines. It is so unlike anything Chinese that one is tempted to attribute it to Persian influence, although there is no documentary evidency of any contact with Persia at the time they were being created. This difference is particularly noticeable in cave No. 12, the so-called "Cave of Music," the entrance to which is decorated with a frieze depicting a complete orchestra playing on instruments, some of which are not of Chinese origin. On the other hand, Indian influence, probably through the Tunhuang caves, is clear in all the caves of the second period. Flying apsaras, angel heads, and other figures of a type which does not belong to Chinese mythology are found throughout many of these caves. They add a touch of exuberance to the otherwise rather austere conception of the decorations. Of particular interest is the Sukhyamuni cave (No. 6), where the main figure of the Buddha is guarded by four disciples, whom Chinese tradition calls the four brothers of Buddha, yet which in all probability depict four of the Buddha's incarnations. The main group stands under a palanquin of stone on which are depicted in high relief the life story of the Buddha's mother, the Buddha's birth, and his early childhood as an Indian prince. The story continues round the walls, cut in a strongly impressionistic manner, and some of the scenes are of striking force and beauty.

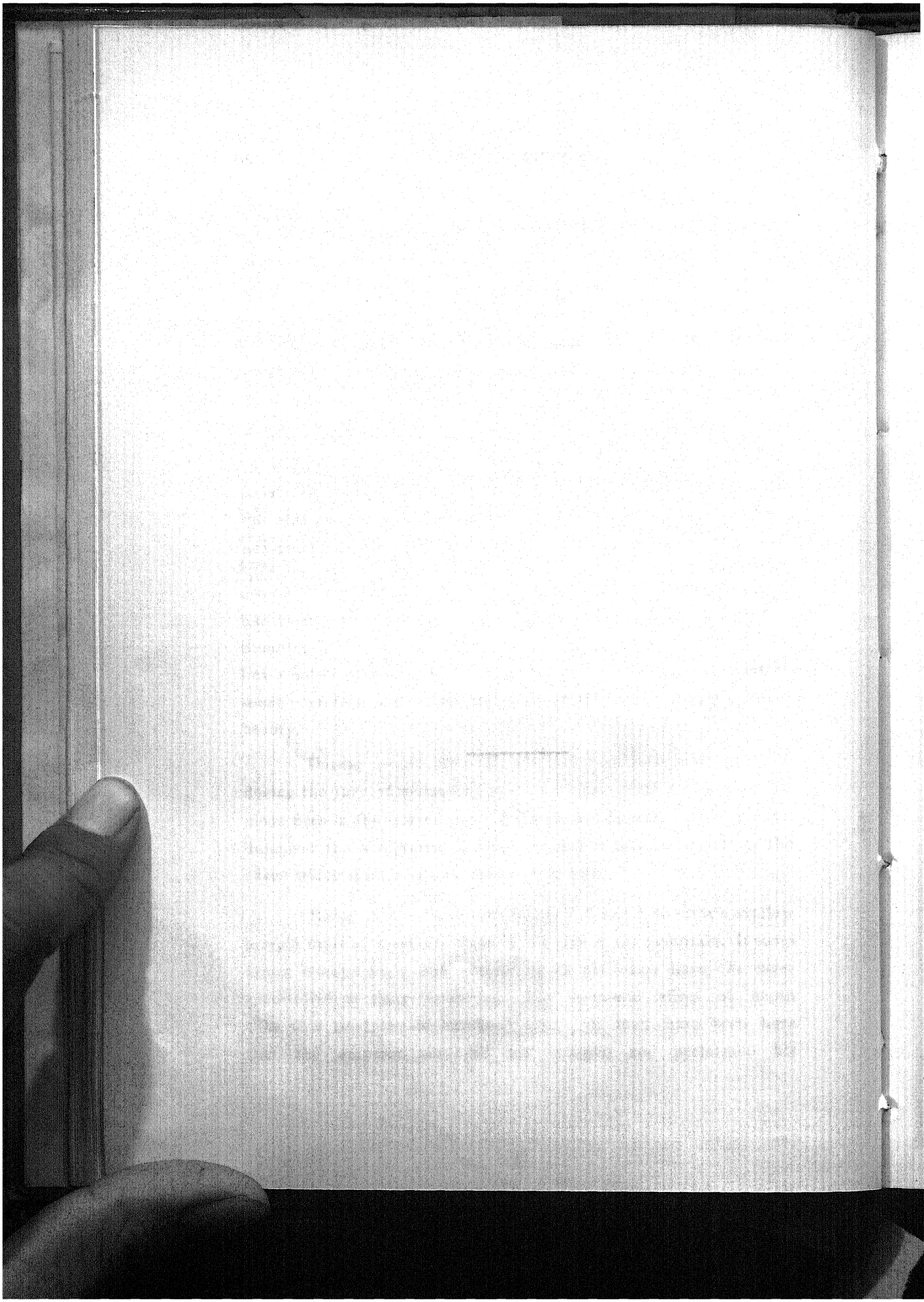
The restoration of the caves which was carried out during the Ming period (16th century) appears to us today as sheer vandalism. Little bits of wood were fixed in holes cut into the statues, which were used as a sort of skeleton on which new figures of clay and rags were built, figures in bizarre colours and with expressionless faces. Where possible, this superstructure is now being carefully removed, but in many cases there is little else but an eroded block of stone underneath. The restoration accomplished during the Ch'ing dynasty two hundred years later left less damage. It consisted mainly in crude painting of the figures' draperies and of the backgrounds in the reliefs and friezes. The colours are mostly rust-red, bright blue and green, and in a way they have a certain charm because they bring the uncoloured soft grey figures into stronger relief. While restoration work was being carried out recently a colossal figure of the Buddha was discovered after tons of rubbish had been removed from one of the passages between two caves. Standing in a narrow corridor, it is in almost complete darkness, but a hole in the roof of the cave allows a few rays of the sun to touch the face and hands and lend to the statue a hazy, unreal beauty.

During recent years of war and revolution many peasants fleeing the fury of marauding soldiers sought refuge in the caves and made fires in the carved laps of the sitting figures. Although this damaged the sculptures, it added a touch of human tragedy to the caves which gives a special effect of its own.

Rising in front of caves Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8, there is a shallow temple built of wood and fixed to the side of the mountain. It soars many storeys high, and several of its platforms have the caves themselves as their backdrops. The dramatic effect of depth that this produces is extraordinary. It may have been here that the emperor surveyed his creation and performed his

devotions. The present temple is probably of a much later date; the original is said to have been burnt down and rebuilt several times. A typically Chinese compromise with religion is revealed in the figures of Chinese gods which are placed at vantage points in this temple. One particularly beautiful statue of the Goddess of Mercy, Kuan Yin, for example, is almost hidden by a hideous staircase. There are even two figures here that look very much like those of the Virgin and Child.

From the temple balustrades of these caves there is a splendid view of the surrounding plain. Sixteen miles to the east lies the present city of Tatung, nearby which the ancient Han city sleeps beneath its earthen mound. We are greatly indebted to this city for the legacy it has left to us in the Cloud Hills. In the Yung-kan Caves there remains, in spite of the ravages of wind and weather, one of the world's great religious monuments.



SIAMESE TREASURES IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS[1]

by

Mary Anglemyer

The Library of Congress is one of the best-known institutions in the United States of America. Without even going to Washington many students from all over the United States and from other countries have had an occasion to use its services. The sale of printed cards to libraries throughout the world and inter-library loans are among the most familiar of these services. But there are many services of the Library that are not widely known. It is some of these that we will treat as the subject here.

> "The Library of Congress is, in fact, an aggregate of many libraries. The entire range of man's graphic expression, moreover, is covered in the Library's collections. They contain everything from Babylonian and Assyrian clay tablets long predating the Christian era, early papyri, Chinese books printed from wood blocks antedating by centuries the introduction in Europe of printing from movable metal type, and medieval manuscripts to the microcards, by which a hundred pages or more of printed matter are photographically reproduced on a single sheet."[2]

These materials are acquired by purchase, copyright deposits, gifts, international exchange of government publications, exchanges with other institutions, and tranfers from other United States government agencies. Much has been acquired by gifts from distinguished donors.

The Kings of Siam have been among the most generous these donors. One of the earliest, if not the earliest gift from these Kings is the first printed edition of the *Tripitaka*. (See the inscription

1. Revised from an article originally prepared by the author for the Thai Alliance and published in the 1956 Mahidol Yearbook.

2. Annual report of the Library of Congress, 1954.

of this work from the copy in the Library of Congress, on plate 1.) This work reveals the concern of King Chulalongkorn for spreading the knowledge of Buddhism and for enlarging the scholarship of his own and of other countries. In order to commemorate the twenty-fifth year of his reign, His Majesty appointed a committee to prepare and issue the first printing of the *Tripitaka* in the Pali language written in Siamese characters. His choice of this project reveals his great vision, and his reasons are treated in full in the introduction which he wrote himself. He notes that other countries, whose people had been adherents of the Hinayana Buddhist faith, had fallen to foreign conquerors. Because these conquerors were unsympathetic to the faith it had declined. But Siam had remained free and independent and it had a sacred trust to preserve the tenets of the religion. In order to do this it was necessary to record the teachings of the Buddha and make them more widely known. He decided, very wisely, that these records should be printed rather than written on palm leaves as they had been in the past. He observed that palm leaf books would have had to be written in Cambodian characters, which were unfamiliar to most people. By using type, many copies could be printed and made available to everyone who could read.

The volumes of the *Tripitaka* are bound in three-quarter leather with the seal of King Chulalongkorn embossed in gold on the cover. The King presented copies of the work to major libraries and universities throughout the world. The Library of Congress was fortunate enough to be one of these. This treasure was recently brought again to light from where it lay in the Library's uncatalogued collection. The author of this discovery was M.R. Sumonjati Swasdikul, a teacher and scholar known and loved by many graduates of Chulalongkorn University.

The second edition, which was prepared under the direction of a Royal Commission of dignitaries of the Thai Buddhist Clergy during the years 1925-1928, is more complete in that it contains several books that were omitted from the carlier edition. It was

สุภมัตถุ.

พุทธัสส ภควโต ปรินิพพานโต

จตุสสตาธิกานํ ทวินนํ วัสสสหัสสานมุปริ

สัตตตึ สติเม วัสเส

อิทํ เตปิฎกํ

ทักขิณพุทธมามกานํ สัมมาภิมานมาสินํ

หิตัตถํ หิตัณณา ปรมินท ม[illegible]จุฬา ลงกรเณน

สยาเมกราชภูเตน ปัญจวีสัจฉยา สิวังครานํ

ปริปุณณายมิจจเย ปากฏิ กัตวา มุททาปิตํ,

อิมัสมิํ การเณ

มหาวิหาร อปัสส อนุสสรณียํ ทินนํ.

พระคัมภีร์

อัน เปน ที่ นับถือ ของ พุทธ สาสนิกชน ฝ่ายใต้

พระ ไตร ปิฎก นี้

ได้ ลง พิมพ์ ประกาศโดย พระบรม ราชโองการ ใน พระบาท สมเด็จพระ ปรมินทร มหา จุฬา ลงกรณ์ พระ จุลจอม เกล้า เจ้ากรุง สยาม ใน สมัย เมื่อ ได้ เสด็จ เถลิงถวัลยราช สมบัติ ครบ ๒๕ ปี แล พระราชทานให้ เปน ที่ระฦกในเหตุนี้ แก่

หอสมุดคอนเกรส, วอชิงตอน ดี, ซี,

Q. B. F. F. S.

This Edition of the sacred writings of the Southern Buddhists the Tripitaka has been published by order of His Majesty Somdetch Phra Paramindr Maha Chulalonkorn Phra Chula Chom Klao King of Siam on the 25th anniversary of His ascension to the Throne and is presented by Him in commemoration of this event to

Cette édition des écritures saintes des Bouddhistes du Sud le Tripitaka a été publiée par ordre de Sa Majesté Somdetch Phra Paramindr Maha Chulalonkorn Phra Chula Chom Klao Roi de Siam le 25 e anniversaire de Son avènement au Trône et est par Lui presentée en commémoration de ce jour à

Diese Ausgabe der heiligen Schriften der südlichen Buddhisten das Tripitaka wurde auf Befehl Seiner Majestät Somdetch Phra Paramindr Maha Chulalonkorn Phra Chula Chom Klao König von Siam bei Gelegenheit Seines 25 jährigen Regierungs Jubiläums veröffentlicht und wird von Ihm zur Erinnerung an dieses Ereignis zum Geschenk gegeben

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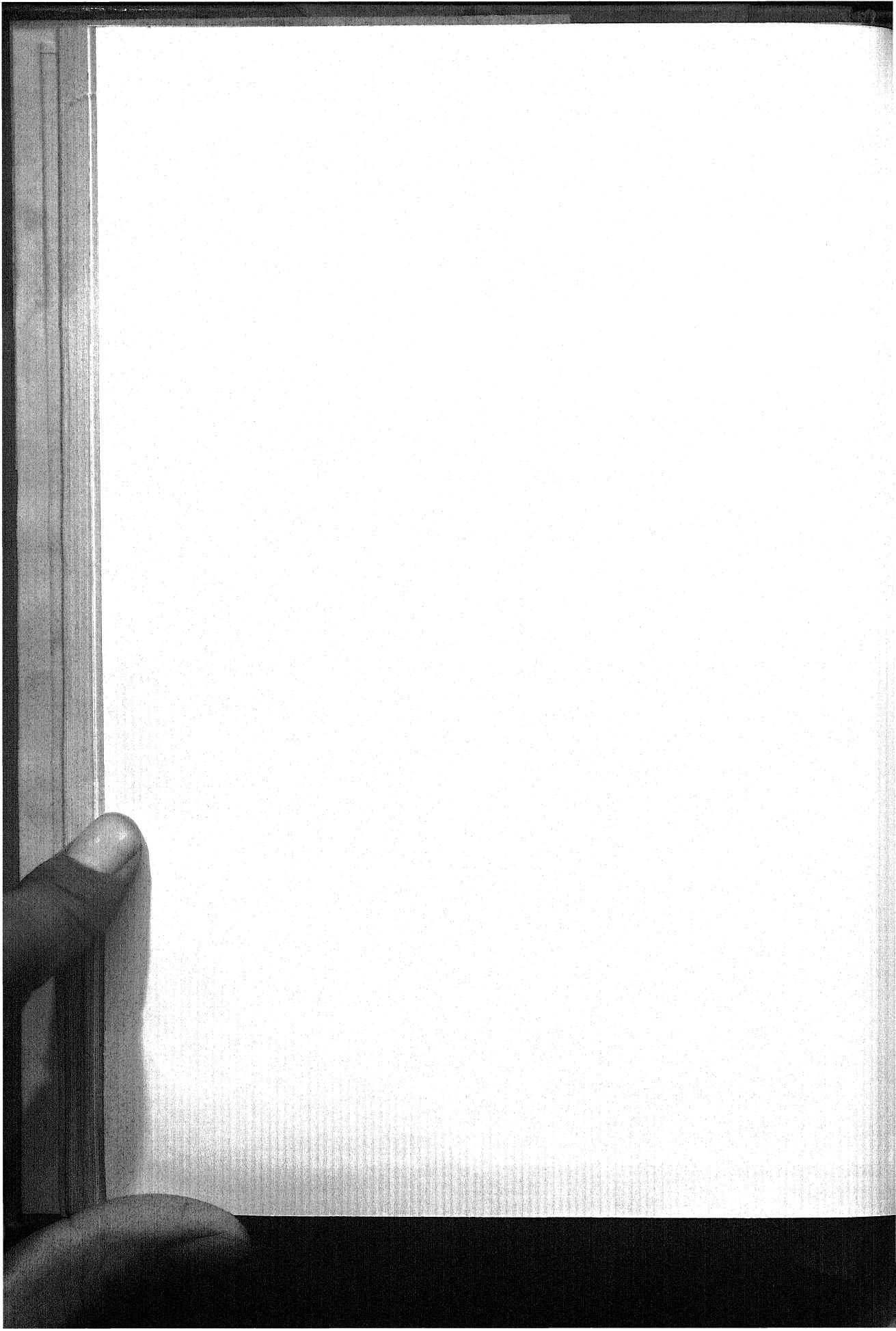
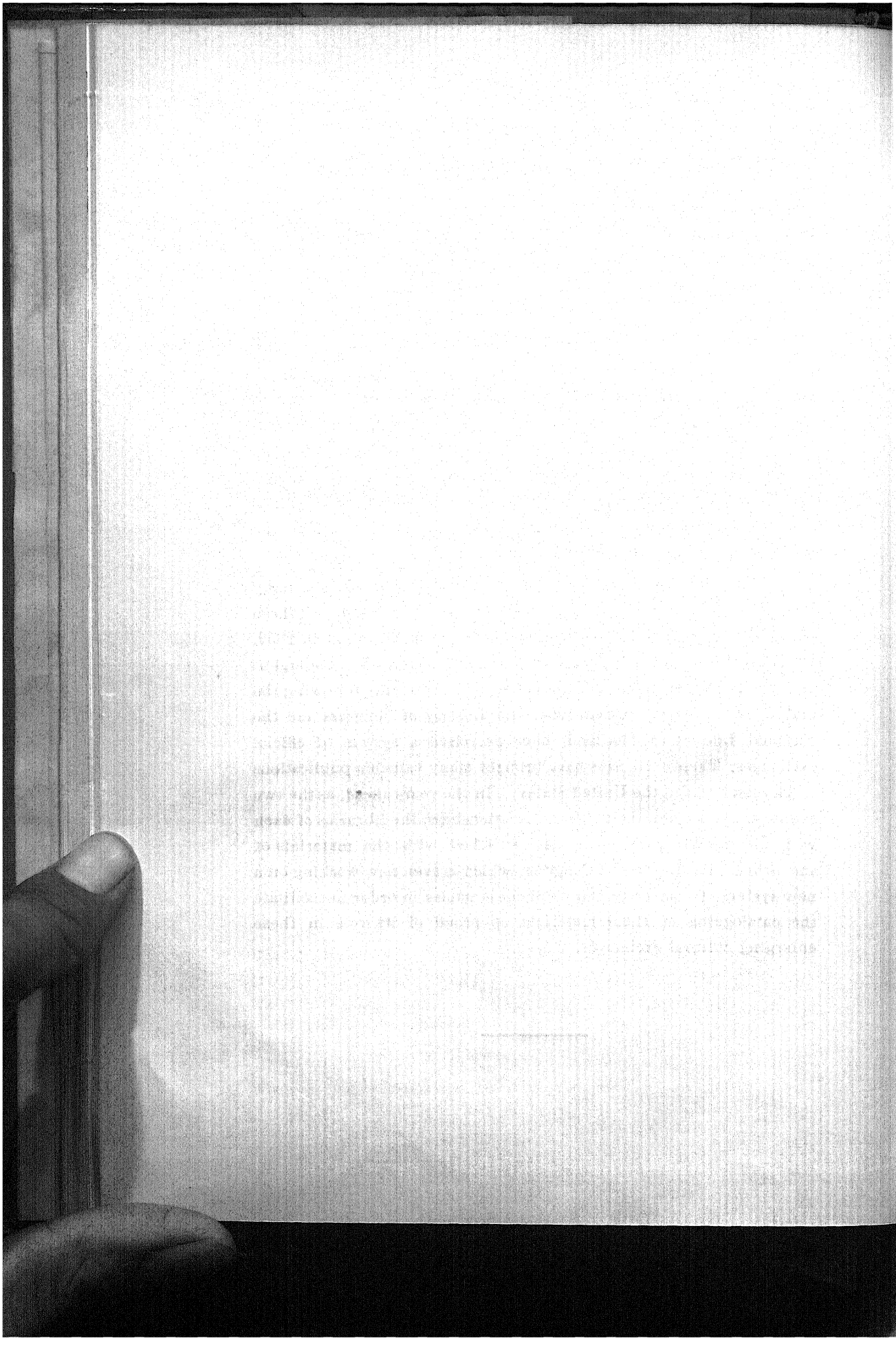


dedicated to King Vajiravudh who, not long before its publication, had died. A complete description of this edition may be found in the *Journal of the Siam Society*, Volume XXXV, No. 2. The set comprises 45 volumes with the figure of the royal elephant imprinted on the Chakri colors of the paper covers. This edition also was presented to the Library of Congress.

The Library of Congress has in its possession another set of volumes, which constitutes a body of explanation and commentary on the *Tripitaka*. These books were designed to explain and clarify difficult parts of the texts, but they are not for the layman. They were also written in Pali. These volumes were edited by Khemacari Thera, Phra Dhammatrailokacarn, who was then Chief Monk of Wat Mahatat. They were published in 1925, and dedicated to the memory of the Prince of Chandaburi.

In addition to these gifts, the Library of Congress has many Siamese volumes which were acquired through exchanges. These exchanges, which were made on an informal basis, began in 1859, when President Buchanan sent two cases of books to King Mongkut as a traditional exchange of gifts between governments following the making of a treaty. Since 1904, the Library of Congress and the National Library of Thailand have exercised a system of official exchanges. These exchanges have brought many valuable publications to Thailand and to the United States. In the years ahead, as the two countries strengthen their cultural relationships, the libraries of each will undoubtably become greatly enriched with the materials of the other. The Library of Congress, which is even now working on a new system of transliteration of Siamese names in order to facilitate the cataloguing of these materials, is proud of its role in these enlarging cultural exchanges.



THE AGE OF KING RAMA I OF THE CHAKRI DYNASTY.

In my article entitled, *The Reconstruction of Rama I of the Chakri dynasty*, in JSS. XLIII, 1, 1955, it was stated that that King died at the age of 74. My statement was based on the *History of the First Reign* by, Chaophyā Dibākaravons, published in R.S. 120 (1901) and again by the Fine Arts Department in 1935 (p. 312).

Prince Prididebyabongs has now drawn my attention to the fact that this was a miscalculation, for the King was born on the 20th March 1737, and died on the 7th September 1809, thus leaving his span of life only 72 years, 5 months and 17 days, or, roughly speaking, 72 years and 6 months.

The miscalculation apparently arose from the prevalent method of reckoning age at that time when the King, having been born towards the end of the lunar year, would be considered as being 2 years old with the dawn of the new year. He was then regarded as being 2 years old when he was really only 11 days old.

In thanking Prince Prididebyabongs for the information, I naturally accept his correction,

11 November 1957 *Dhani*

THE ORIGINS OF THE VIETNAMESE.

This problem has been subjected to various opinions. Some research workers believe that the Vietnamese people were a Mongoloid tribe that emigrated from Southeastern China to North Vietnam (Tongking); others, such as Colonel Henri Roux, thought that they were originally Siamese. The noted philologist, Professer A.G. Haudricourt, thinks, however, that the Vietnamese shoud be placed in the Austro-asiatic family, between the Wa-Palaung and the Môn-Khmer

group, because many of the basic roots of the Vietnamese language are Môn-Khmer.[1] It has also been thought that the tones in the Vietnamese language are due to a former Thai influence. To this, Prof. Haudricourt says that the introduction of tones in the Vietnamese language is not due to Thai influence. He states that it is probable that at the begining of our era neither the ancestor of the Siamese language, nor of the archaic Chinese, nor of the common Miao-Yao language had any tones; that the appearance of tones was begotten by the modification of the final and initial consonants, and that this took place in a parallel manner in all four languages because of Chinese influence. This Chinese influence is testified by the existence of many Chinese loan words[2] (in the three other languages). In this matter of tones, Prof. Haudricourt agrees with Dr. Paul Benedict.[3]

It seems that Prof. Haudricourt's placing of the Vietnamese language and the Vietnamese people in the Austro-asiatic family is based solely on linguistic grounds. Ethnology and the study of blood groups do not, however, agree with this view. Some fifteen years ago Dr. Maneffe and M. Bézocier carried out a series of blood group studies of the Vietnamese and other ethnic groups in North Vietnam, such as the Mường (rustic cousins of the Vietnamese), the Thô who are Thai, the Nung, also Thai, and the Man (Yao). The result of this investigation was that all these ethnic groups come nearer (biologically) to the Indonesian element than to the Mongol. In stating that the Thai are more closely related to the Indonesian (than to the Chinese), Dr. Maneffe and M. Bézacier are in agreement with Dr. Benedict (and also the noted German anthropologist, Prof. Egon Baronvon Eickstedt). The first two

1. George Condominas, *Panorama de la culture Vietnamienne*. p. 22.
2. *Idem*.
3. Paul Benedict, "Thai, Kadai and Indonesian, A New Alignment in Southeastern Asia," *The American Anthropologist*, 1942.

authors say that the Indonesians are members of "the great Europoid family." [4,5]

It seems that the Indonesian, like the other groups of the Thai, Kadai and Indonesian alignment, originated somewhere in Yunnan, and when the Môn-Khmer wave, coming from the south (southwest?), and intruding like a wedge,[6] separated the Thai and the Kadai from the Indonesian group; the Thai were pushed northwards and the Kadai eastwards. The Indonesians were driven southwards, invading the whole of the farther Indian peninsula. A wave of these Indonesians, who were people of a highly developed neolithic culture, invaded and conquered the lands of what was until recently French Indochina (and the remainder of farther India) where they met a primitive population of Papua-Melanesian and Negrito stock which they conquered, drove away, or absorbed. Next, a wave of Môn-Khmer, following in the steps of the Indonesian, overran and conquered Tongking (but not Champa or certain territories in the Indochinese backlands, and Chieng Khwang). The result of the last invasion was that the Vietnamese (Indonesian) of that day adopted more or less the language of their conquerers, a process in which history shows many similar examples. In spite of all this, we think we are justified in maintaining that the Vietnamese are *au fond* Indonesians. That this assertion is correct is borne out by Dr. Maneffe's and M. Bézacier's investigations of the blood groups of the people of North Vietnam as well as by several cultural traits which link up the Vietnamese with the Indonesian of Insulinde. As regards the culture and language of the present-day Vietnamese, they were heavily influenced at first by the Chinese conquest during the Han period (cir. 200 B.C. to cir. 200 A.D.), and afterwards during the long Chinese occupation that lasted for many

4. *Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'homme*, vol. IV, pt. 2.

5. See the author's "Notes on the B.I,E.H.," JSS, vol, XXXVI, Pt.I.

6. George Coedes, "Les langues de l'Indochine," *Conferences de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Universite de Paris, 1949.*

hundreds of years. It is well known that the population of Central Vietnam (Annam) consists mainly of former Cham people from the once flourishing hinduized and highly civilized Kingdom of Champa, which was utterly destroyed by the ruthless and iconoclastic Vietnamese to such a degree that only a few tens of thousand very poor descendants of this formerly proud people are now left. The Cham are of course Indonesians, both by blood and language.

Sorgenfri per Virum, Denmark
July 1957

Erik Seidenfaden

BOOK REVIEWS

Walter F. Vella, *Siam Under Rama III.* J.J. Augustin Inc., Locust Valley, N.Y., 1957. 180 pages, including appendix, bibliography, index.

Those interested in Siamese history will welcome this thorough and objective study of the period 1824-1851, covering the long reign of Rama III, or Phra Nang Klao. Western readers are more or less familiar with the reigns of King Mongkut, 1851-1868, and King Chulalongkorn, 1868-1910, rulers credited with opening up Siam to European trade, treaty relationships, and technology. Dr. Vella now offers an historical survey, in almost digest form, of the earlier reign which prepared the stage and the actors for the dramatic period that followed.

The author's attempts to focus attention upon the country rather than the ruler are not entirely successful because, at every turn, the King was the political leader and the focus of the nation's cultural life. Rama III, contrary to his detractors, was an able and active administrator, resembling Rama I in this respect. He obtained the throne, not as a usurper, but as the prince most eligible to rule by reason of his age, which was thirty-seven, his ability, and his political and military experience. Unlike his father, he cared little for poetry or the drama. He was, however, deeply religious, and gave much attention to the construction of Buddhist images and temples. The towering *prang* of Wat Arun and the major restoration of Wat Po are monuments to his devotion. Under his patronage temple decoration reached the "height of the afterbloom of Siamese art."

Rama III's reign was one of national consolidation. Forty-two years earlier his grandfather had established the Chakkri dynasty and made Bangkok the nation's capital. Fifteen years before that, following the fall of Ayuthia, the country was in chaos. Consequently there prevailed a compelling urge to rebuild, to restore social and political norms, to conserve classical forms, and to strengthen the

nation's borders. In achieving this the Siamese rounded out an era in which, astonishingly enough, cultural patterns had remained essentially unchanged for four hundred years. After 1850 the modern period began.

In four chapters the author has sorted out the complicated and little-known details of Siam's relationships with the Malay States, Burma, Cambodia, and Laos during the crucial years, 1824-1847. The long military struggle on the eastern marches halted the westward expansion of Annam, made buffer states of Laos and Cambodia, and had a bearing on political decisions in that area in the 1850's.

The chapter, "Relations with the West," is of special interest to English readers. Those critical of Rama III's closed-door policy in 1850 usually have overlooked the factors that determined the Siamese viewpoint. Siam had at that time an almost self-sufficient economy; foreign trade was of little importance to the average villager. China, and Chinese junks had long supplied Siam with silks, porcelains, and nearly everything desired except firearms. In a period when taxes were paid partly in kind, the King depended largely upon trade monopolies, export and import duties, and upon state shipping for revenue in specie. In the 1800's Britain's rapid colonial expansion in the interests of trade, and opium smuggling from British ports in the east, made the Siamese government wary of closer commercial ties. The preceding centuries, moreover, had taught the sad lesson that increased political contacts between governments usually led to increased friction and war. And finally, Rama III entered his last illness at the time when Sir James Brooke was calling for a new commercial treaty.

The Siamese officials justified their position with the contention that the Burney Treaty of 1826 with Britain, and the corresponding Roberts Treaty of 1833 with the United States, were still in force and were quite adequate. Rama III's unwillingness to negotiate in 1850 was not wholly characteristic of his temper. In 1826, Rama III had negotiated the Burney Treaty on terms of equality with

Britain, and this without the compulsion of foreign troops upon his soil. And the King concluded the Roberts Treaty in the record time of twenty-two days. We might ask, by way of comparison, what was the attitude toward the West of Japan, of Korea, and of China in 1826?

Siam under Rama III was sponsored by the University of California and the Association for Asian Studies. It was written slowly, after much research, and under competent guidance. Its chief merit is that it makes accessible to English readers a great deal of historical data formerly recorded only in the Siamese language. The Appendix contains a list in Siamese of documents and of prominent personages referred to by the author. Copious footnotes appear on nearly every page, a source of impatience to the casual reader, perhaps, but a treasure to the serious student.

One might question the auther's use of the term "empire" (p.1) as applied to the Siam of that period; it is doubtful whether the King thought of himself as an emperor. The statement, "The government and the king were, in the minds of most of the population, abstractions not clearly imagined and infrequently meditated upon," (p. 24) seems to contradict an earlier statement (p. 16) that, "The court and the capital represented to the people the highest realization of their cultural aims." Most of the men, at least, meditated upon their government at seasons of taxation, corvee, and conscription.

This reviewer's chief criticism, regret rather, is that the treatment of a fascinating historical period in the heart of Southeast Asia is so brief. This is an observation not entirely justified, however, in view of the book's compact style. The wealth of factual material presented indeed exceeds that of many a larger tome.

K.E. Wells

Princesse Marsi Paribatra, *Le romantisme contemporain: essai sur l'inquiétude et l'évasion dans les lettres françaises de 1850 à 1950.* Éditions polyglottes, Paris, 1954.

Princess Marsi rejects the usual definitions, and especially the facile assumption that romanticism is the antithesis, point by point, of classicism; it is no more so, she says, than a dog is the antithesis of a cat: the two things are different. She prefers to describe rather than to define. Whereas classicism seeks a judicious balance between contending forces, romanticism admits the search is hopeless, reality is intolerable, and the only escape is into the imaginary. "In its time," she writes, "classicism was an equilibrium; in more or less the right proportions, classicism combined intelligence with feeling, individualism with the social order, respect for the content of a work of art with due attention to its form .... Romanticism, on the other hand, is disquiet, jumping from one extreme to the other: from unordered sensibility to unhuman intellectualism, from languid reveries to excited activity, from crotchety egotism to the deification of Society, from a wistfulness for olden times to pure revolt, from a magical idealism to systematic descriptions of filth, from the extraordinary to the banal, from the destruction of all rules of prosody and diction to the cult of form devoid of content. No one of these pairs of opposites is more romantic than another. Romanticism is the rush to an extreme in either direction, the frantic rush to escape."

Most critics assume that the Romantic movement came to an end in the middle of the 19th century, and that it was succeeded by a medley of different schools—Parnassians, decadents, symbolists, naturalists, modernists, dadaists, surrealists, existentialists, etc. A few critics, however, view that medley as an uninterrupted continuation of the Romantic movement of 1750-1850. Princess Marsi's book is a defense of the minority view. She does not assert that romanticism never existed before 1750, nor that every French poet and novelist since then has been 100-per-cent romantic (though Anatole France is about the only one she admits to have

avoided it altogether); it is rather a question of degree. She beings by analyzing the main characteristics of the "first" Romantic period in literature – the period that everyone admits was Romantic (1750–1850) – with its prevailing theme of pessimism and escape. She then shows how this theme has been no less predominant in practically all French literature for the period 1850–1950. The characteristic symbols of sadness of the first Romantic period, such as autumn, the moon, and bells, maintain all their prestige in the second; but alongside them a host of new sad images crop up: "From 1850 on, everything can be sad: wind, evening, water, Sunday, the moon, spring, summer, autumn, winter, seas, forests, castles, cottages, swamps, night, rooms, houses, or Egyptian temples." There is something hallucinating in the eight pages of examples she cites. "If it is tiresome," she says, "to hear the poet proclaim *I am bored, I am lonely, I am sad*, it is no less tiresome to hear him repeating *the moon is bored, the water is lonely, the weather-vane is sad*. Or rather, it is tiresome at first, but soon it becomes amusing. Because of this leitmotiv, certain poems which are otherwise quite good become irresistibly funny; at every page we expect a sobbing fountain or some disconsolate bells."

A statistical proof that contemporary literature is pervaded with pessimism would require the use of an electronic brain fed by a large staff of trained clerks – and it would make dull reading. Princess Marsi prefers an artistic approach; if her proof is necessarily incomplete, it is persuasively presented, and supported by a wide range of excerpts. "It sometimes happens," she writes, "that an historian of ideas, in trying to prove his point, patiently culls from several thousand works a few examples that form an impressive mass when they are taken together, although they really do not loom very large in the literature that contains them. That was not at all the way I gathered the melancholy texts in this chapter. I naturally began by reading, or re-reading, the authors where I expected to find melancholy – Baudelaire, Rodenbach, Sartre, etc., then books with promising titles .... and indeed I reaped a rich harvest. But then I systematically picked up one or

two books by all the best-known authors of the last hundred years .... In this way, I believe, I got a representative sampling. It appeared that at least one out of every two books, chosen at random, contained a large display of melancholy. I myself was surprised to find such a *density* of melancholy in contemporary literature; and often, when I had finished a stint of reading, I felt sickened at having to cope with so much spleen, disgust, and life-weariness." "All this spleen," she writes, "this forlornness, this despair in nothingness and infinity, this apathy and moping, find their explanation in the philosophy of Sartre and their highest pitch in his novels: *la Nausée* is perhaps the most moping book ever written."

Few of us, I suppose, can take a sustained interest in the symptoms of a writer's distress, but we may find his routes of escape instructive. These are more numerous than the devices which Arnold Toynbee says have made life tolerable for ordinary people—hard work, love, art, religion, and intoxicants. Among the escapes proposed by French writers are nature, the great city, exoticism, olden times, the future, sensuality, drunkennness, religiosity, politics, occultism, dreams, absurdity, humor, despair, madness, suicide. Princess Marsi describes them clearly and rather mercilessly. She laughs at the sort of artless exoticism that pretends to be well-informed—for example, "India! India! White mountains filled with pagodas and idols, in the midst of woods swarming with tigers and elephants!" (Flabuert); or "Everything is golden in the sacred city of Benares. The gold-clad domes and rosy peaks of the minarets reach up into the golden apotheosis of the sky; the walls, columns and pent-roofs of the shrines are golden" (Lorrain). In quoting such passages the Princess comments: Although I was born in those wild regions, I swear I have never seen a tiger outside the circus or the zoo. As for gold, alas, a bit of gilt ornament on a pagoda is overshadowed by all too many poverty-stricken streets which could not possibly appeal to even the most decadent tourist." Her discussion

of contemporary literature as "magic" is incisive, and particularly her remarks on occultism as a romantic escape. "Paris today is swarming with people who are enamoured of the Vedas and Yoga, meeting in select groups for respiratory and spiritual exercises. In Bangkok where I was born, in the heart of the mysterious Orient, I had never seen anything like it. It is very picturesque."

Though many flashes of wit make it lively reading, this is a very serious book. The overtones are disturbing, for the author sees romanticism as far more than a literary movement: to her it is a widespread sociological phenomenon, intimately bound up with the economic, social and cultural developments of the West during the last two centuries. If she is right, a dire corollary would seem inescapable: Western society is sick indeed.

Its mental disquiet is an obvious fact, but I doubt whether Western society is quite so decrepit as one might suppose from the evidence of novels and poetry. If their preoccupation with pessimism and escape really reflects an endemic malady, the patient has nevertheless managed to survive it for two hundred years. With such a record of "tolerance" to a disease, it is possible that Western society may be able to pull through a while longer. Poets and novelists may be quite cheerful people in their daily life, reserving their bleaker moods for their craft; *their* real escape is not so much a rush to extremes, it is a rush to get published. The poet who reiterates *I am sad* may be wanting in originality, but at least the poem can go on from there; if he reiterates *I am happy and well-adjusted to my environment*, there is not much more for him to say. Again, ordinary people whose livelihood does not depend on melancholy may find their "escape" in constructive work; wage-earners who take pleasure in their tasks are not unknown. Finally, the huge body of today's technical writing, in at least partial contrast to the romantic category, suggests that mental disquiet does not always lead to escapism, but now and then produces positive solutions.

The Princess does not assert the dire corollary which I have ventured to question, though it does seem to follow from some of her conclusions. It is outside the subject under study, which is literary. The subject is already vast enough, and would have proved unwieldy for a less disciplined mind than Princess Marsi's. She has an enviable command of her material, a sense of order, and a sharp critical faculty. These are the qualities of classicism; her study of romanticism is essentially non-romantic.

Her approach to European studies might well serve as a model for Westerners engaged in the study of one or another phase of Siamese culture. Few of us, I fear, would come anywhere near meeting the standard: one must begin young. Except for a child prodigy in the 12th century, Princess Marsi was the youngest candidate ever to receive a doctorat-es-lettres at the Sorbonne; *le Romantisme contemporain* was her doctoral thesis.

A.B. Griswold

Howard Fast, *The Naked God: The Writer and the Communist Party.* New York, Frederick Praeger, 1957. 197 pages.

Presented to the Siam Society by the Office for Asian Affairs, Congress for Cultural Freedom, 5 Hailey Road, New Delhi 1.

That the Congress for Cultural Freedom should present this book for review is appropriate, for the author's principal theme is that cultural freedom is as impossible in a Communist system as snow in Siam. Mr. Fast, an American writer, speaks with authority, for he was a member of the American Communist Party from 1943 to 1956, when the Krushchev report of Communist atrocities so sickened and revolted him that he left the Party. "For more than a year now," he writes in this memoir, "I have lived with the feeling of a man who has come out of a deep and distorted dream. After long years, I have found myself—my own personal freedom, which I hold the most precious thing a man knows; the right to do as my own conscience dictates; the right to error, blunder, and even prime foolishness; and also the right to dream, hope, and never hold silence when I see wrong and evil done. I know of no substitute for this."

But why, since all these rights were always his as an American citizen, did he ever forfeit them to the Communist Party? The answer, now familiar to us in the thickening annals of ex-Communists, is the shining promise of social justice that Communism pretends to offer and that exercises an irresistible allure on men of certain casts of mind and experience. Mr. Fast was one of these, and he gives a brief explanatory account of his working-class slum boyhood, the struggle for existence during the Depression and its terrible manifestations, his early discovery of the realm of books and all they revealed to him of thought and imagination, and his reading of Shaw and Marx. Socialism seemed to him, and still seems, man's hope. Throughout the 1930's he was on the fringes of the left-wing movement, but he did not commit himself until the Second World War, when the evils of Nazism and Fascism threatened what was dearest to him: civilization, culture, art, literature. "These were my life, my existence," he writes. "I

came to accept the proposition that the truest and most consistent fighters in this anti-Fascist struggle were the Communists." He joined them, convinced that he was dedicating himself to the redemption of man and to a future of total brotherhood when poverty and injustice would cease to exist.

For thirteen years, as a Communist, he gave all his money, time, and considerable talent to the Party; begged money for it from rich fellow-travellers who, buying their thrills cheap, pursued Communism like pampered women caressing bullfighters; defended the Party from outside attacks; went to jail for it; denounced all reports of Communist savagery as the lies of enemies; suffered slander and shame from fellow-members; clung to his membership in the face of threats and degradation; rewrote his books at the behest of Party troglodytes, denounced other writers for unorthodoxy, and finally, surrendering all artistic integrity, wrote to order without regard to truth. (These pages, which might have been a chapter in Orwell's *1984*, will make writers writhe in empathy.) Then came the Krushchev report, like a stroke of lightning on a darkened waste; all that he and others had suffered was polarized in that enlightenment; the god that he had served was revealed naked and ugly. "We took the noblest dreams and hopes of mankind as our credo; the evil we did was to accept the degradation of our own souls – and because we surrendered in ourselves, in our own Party existence, all the best and most precious gains and liberties of mankind – because we did this, we betrayed mankind, and the Communist Party became a thing of destruction." He left the Party then in an anguish of catharsis.

What had kept him in this servitude? Mr. Fast's analysis of the Communist Party as a religion is the most convincing and detailed in the literature of apostate Communists, all of whom testify to this aspect of its power and corroborate the Toynbee theory that it is a Christian heresy. "Men of good will" – this is a cliche they all use –, magnetized by the hope that the meek will inherit the earth and the last shall be first, at last surrender

themselves to Communism as others are converted to religion or fall in love, a phenomenon of attention in which the critical faculties are suspended in a kind of exaltation. Their spiritual investment is then so vast that any withdrawal threatens bankruptcy. When Mr. Fast joined a cell – he explains that this basic unit of the Party is a kind of community club – he found that it consisted of honest, dedicated, selfless people who worked tirelessly and without pay to fulfill the needs and solve the problems of the laboring classes in their areas. These saintly people, Mr. Fast avers, project their own virtue and integrity into the Party: persecution of that Party, to which they have given all they have, creates in them a sense of righteousness, outrage, and religious fervor hostile to reason – and a kind of inverted corruption begins. The Party, which has succeeded in infusing in millions of minds the idea that it alone is the vehicle of social progress, becomes to them the Temple of God. Criticism is stifled, all opponents are automatically agents of evil, and the mechanism is set whereby any dogma pronounced by the temple priests is accepted as holy writ.

The organization of this priesthood as outlined here is a hierarchy more rigid than Egypt's ever was. (In fact, the reader may be haunted by the feeling that a dispassionate anthropological study of Communism would offer fascinating parallels, though such a project will not be possible for a century or so—provided, of course, that (1) man still exists then and (2) a society exists in which dispassionate research on the subject is possible.) A number of cells is organized into a section, which is led by a paid revolutionary who holds classes, meetings, and lectures where the Party line is expounded like gospel. Above these are the tough, tried professionals – the leaders of the regions and districts, and finally the national secretary, who is dictator and tyrant and who hands down the Party line, resolutions, and decisions. The lower functionaries, who are appointed from on high and thus owe their power to their superiors, impose these dicta on the rank and file in lectures and discussions that deceptively purport to be free but in iron reality

are church services in which the absolute doctrine is revealed. Any opposition from members is destroyed (for every "decision" of a body of members must be unanimous, to demonstrate Party solidarity forever) through the use of two instruments: first, the conviction, propagated by the Party, of the divine wisdom of the top leaders and the holiness of the Party; and, second, the threat of excommunication from the Party. This has a peculiar horror for Communists; it is like being cast out from heaven, driven from the company of the blessed out among the damned in the Inferno. "Perhaps," writes Mr. Fast, "no religion in all history has ever exercised such a power of damnation over its communicants; and perhaps no communicants in all history have accepted so totally the theory of a hellish curse."

This the members, actually as voiceless in Party policy and decisions as church pews, are forced, by pressures inside the Party and out, into strict conformity, Party worship, and self-abasement before the priests. Mr. Fast limns a chilling sketch of these commissars—aloof, humorless, non-committal out of stupidity and cowardice, divorced from the common joys of human life and arctically fierce in the feral struggle for power. They claw their way up the sacerdotal order through ruthlessness, arrogance, contempt, shrewd opportunism, canny ambivalence, and savage expediency. Fear, superstition, and ignorance are cultivated and exploited; every device of magic—incantations, divination, thaumaturgy, taboos—is employed to produce that strange hypnosis of the mind that compels the swallowing of every outrageous convolution of the Party line as sacred food. (The chapter on magic is the most interesting in the book.) The result of this process in a non-Communist country is a fanatic orthodoxy among Party members led and controlled by men so removed from reality as to appear schizoid; in a Communist country the end result is murder, torture, and Stalin. The by-product is the hate and anger that builds up in every honest member against the leaders. Such members doggedly hope for better leaders, but this hope is folly, for the Party, through its

nature and structure, can produce only the kind it does – "power-hungry, dictatorial, inhuman and anti-human." Thus between leaders and the mass of ordinary members is a "merciless situation of stress."

This stress became most apparent to the author in the Party's treatment of its intellectuals. Particularly susceptible to the appeal of a better social order, they embraced Communism with its promise; but when they exercised within the Party that very perception that made them critical of the old injustices, and spoke out their independent thought, they were crushed by contempt, denied freedom of expression, and forced to submit to the arid strictures of the Party line. In Russia they are simply killed; the Communists destroy their writers, and they are correct to do so, for every writer is by nature an enemy of the Party; and Mr. Fast notes with a rather touching wonder that in capitalist America, under the government that he attacked so fiercely as a Communist, he not only continues to stay alive but to write and to fight for the right of practicing that pursuit as he pleases.

An assortment of curious and enlightening observations studs these pages. Psychiatry is forbidden Communists, but there are "secret believers" who stealthily bootleg it. (Another interesting study could be made of secular priesthoods and their subsurface warfare.) Soviet anti-Semitism came as a great shock to the author, a fast defender of oppressed minorities. The portrait of John Gates, editor of *The Daily Worker*, is a tribute to a friend, and the story of Gates' schism from the Party is a study in the nature of Communism.

A shocker, like all ex-Communist memoirs, this book is also sad. Any reader who remembers with admiration and pleasure such early Howard Fast novels as *The Last Frontier* will look with melancholy failure for the old precision and clarity in this heart-broken, sometimes incoherent book with its clichés and sentences that sometimes never come clear. One can believe the author's tortuous statement that "the book grew in the fury of the conflict

and came alive not without an agony that was part of no other writing I had done," and one can believe that the Communist Party does break its writers over a rack. Apparently they cannot serve two masters.

But perhaps the most striking impression one takes from this book is the humanistic, naive, courageous decency of its writer, qualities so old-fashioned that one feels he strayed into the wrong era; he should have joined the Fabian socialists and spent long, intoxicatingly happy evenings with Wells and the Webbs rather than thirteen grim years with priggish fanatics. Here is none of the piercing brilliance of an Arthur Koestler or the weird murk of a Whittaker Chambers, but the earnest, honest passion of a man who, dedicated to an ideal of brotherhood, threw himself wholeheartedly into a pride of lions under the impression that it was a battalion of Christian soldiers. This appalling misjudgment is one of the great errors of our time, embraced by men as nobly motivated as Howard Fast, and more gifted. How can such men have believed the reports of Nazi brutality and rejected the evidence of Soviet atrocities? How could a man who hated Fascism as an enemy of literature submit to a Communist censorship as bigoted and insane as the house organ of a psychiatric ward for religious lunatics? How can his doubts about the disparity of ends and means have flowered so late when that dilemma was a freshman debating team subject in the 1930's? The reason, these ex-Communist writers indicate, lies somewhere in that barely charted region of the mind and heart where logic and judgment are at the command of desire. One of the admittedly most appealing elements to Mr. Fast, for instance, was the sense of belonging to a pure brotherhood, a sense that the early Christians must have had in the corrupt society of Rome. It must have been a sweet and liberating sense, worth much sacrifice, to a man whose bleak and marginal childhood was made even more lonely by his love of books, and whose hard-won adult status as an intellectual admitted him to no charmed circle. He was praised and feted in the Communist world, where writers, like Aztec sacrifices, are deified

before their living hearts are torn out. The Communist promise of equality and fraternity to society's Outsiders makes liberty seem negligible until, within the Party confines, they find they are still Outsiders, stripped now of their chief treasure – freedom of inquiry and expression.

The irony that runs through the whole account is that Mr. Fast, motivated by compassion and the hatred of tyranny, joined the tyrannical enemy of bourgeois ideals. It is no surprise to read that he was always on the brink of expulsion; the wonder is that he survived at all among the lions. It is not even surprising that, being deeply committed through idealism and loyalty, he endured the irony as long as he did, until the Krushchev report – the Communists' own confession of sin – crystallized in his mind all the evidence of betrayal and perversion that he had resolutely refused to face or believe. The final irony is that he then demanded that the American Communist Party dissolve itself; it was, he pointed out, the only honourable course. Honour, an aristocratic Western concept still retained by bourgeois capitalism, is as out of place in Communist deliberations as an Elgin marble in a Byzantine torture chamber; it is a pleasant surprise to know that it was brought up in those councils.

Out of his ordeal, Mr. Fast has brought an emphatic conviction that deserves close attention, bought as it was with experience. He expresses it thus:

> No force on earth can destroy the Communist Party, but the application of truth will melt it as rain melts salt.... Only the Russian people can deal with the question of their Communist Party, even as each and every people on earth must deal with the same question; and a Communist Party, any Communist Party, will disappear and destroy its monstrous, monolithic temple structure only when a very significant part of its membership come to understand its functioning nature.

To do this, they must conquer *fear*, for fear of the mysterious and nameless gods of the Party is central to the Party itself....

... No organization based on pseudo-religious cant, cemented with neurotic fear and parading ritualistic magic as a substitute for reason, can endure in this second half of the twentieth century. Only the Western nations can make the Communist Party survive. If they succumb to the madness of bellicosity ... and force the issue, or even allow the issue to proceed to another war, then very likely only the fanatical structure of the Communist Party will survive the holocaust as a functioning organization capable of some sort of rule.

We are poised, I think, between acts of wisdom and acts of destruction. If we act wisely, with a new tolerance, a new understanding, and especially a new effort to prove good faith to the people of the East, then it may well be that we will witness the peaceful cooperation of democratic socialism and democratic capitalism in the building of a better world for our children.

Mary Sanford

The Way of the Buddha. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Times of India Press, Bombay, 1957. 330 pages, including notes.

This book, even though it is called *the Way of the Buddha*, appears to me to consist of short quotations from heterogeneous Sanskrit works, many of which are non-Buddhist. Those quoted from Buddhist sources, such as the "Brahmajala Sutra," are of the category of which the Buddha says in that Sutra: "It is in respect only of trifling things, of matters of little value, of mere morality, that an unconverted man, when praising the Tathagata, would speak." The Buddha also says in that Sutra: "There are, brethren, other things, profound, difficult to realize, hard to understand, tranquillizing, sweet, not to be grasped by mere logic, subtle, comprehensible only by the wise. These things the Tathagata, having himself realized them and seen them face to face, hath set forth; and it is of them that they, who would rightly praise the Tathagata in accordance with the truth, should speak." Quotations of this category are unfortunately lacking in this book. Since the pages in this book are not numbered, it is impossible to give it a proper review; for any attempt to refer readers to any particular page would require a lengthy description of it that would take up much space without being able to say anything about the quotation therein. And as very little space in permitted here, only little can be said.

Therefore, I can only recommend that the "Brahmajala Sutra" from the *Sacred Book of the Buddhists*, should be read through; for it provides a criterion by which one may judge whatever is said of the Buddha by people not belonging to the Faith. It reveals also how monotheistic and polytheistic ideas originated, and how these and other speculative views are bound to keep their upholders in the Net of Brahma or the Sangsara from which earnest Buddhists seek deliverance.

However, this book is interesting in that it gives a good photographic rendition of stone relief and sculpture depicting the

life of the Blessed One from Birth to Enlightenment, and from Enlightenment to Parinibbana. All of these were carved in mountain caves in sincere devotion to his memory some centuries after his Parinibbana. From the scenes thus depicted, one observes that the early worshippers of the Blessed One believed in the existence of gods as devine beings endowed with various powers and attributes, but not yet freed from lighter passions and delusion, so that they are kept in the cycle of rebirth or the Sangsara, thus remaining far below the Blessed One.

In depicting, his life his worshippers surrounded him with the gods from Brahma, Siva, Visnu, as well as other lesser deities, as though the gods were his attendants. The Blessed One himself did not deny the existence of gods as deserving reapers of the fruits of their past deeds in accordance with the law of Karma or the Norm – not a divine fiat, but the immutable law of nature.

The Self-Enlightened Buddha discovered the Dharma or the Truth by intuitive insight, and taught it for the benefit of all – gods and men. He had no reason to pray to any god or man because he had transcended them all and attained that blissful and changeless peace called Nibbana which is beyond all gods, neither created nor creating, realizable but not conceived. His language was of course the language of the people, and he used their terminology to draw their attention and finally to explain his meaning to them. Thus he was able to make his profound Doctrine understood. His contemporaries used to speak of him in this way: "Even because of this reason or that, the Blessed One is the Self-Enlightened Arahat, endowed with full knowledge and intuitive wisdom, well-delivered and possessed of a clear insight into the world, unsurpassed as the trainer of men worthy to be trained, the Teacher of gods and men, resplendent in the fullness of enlightenment, the Expounder of Dharma to all mankind."

Therefore, he could not have been the borrower of others' doctrines who developed and incorporated them into one and called it his own, but the teacher of his own discovered Truth now known

as Buddhism, which is free to all. His statues do not portray acts of prayer but of meditation and radiation of loving kindness, compasssion, good cheer and equanimity towards all beings.

In keeping with the name of this book, *The Way of the Buddha*, it is well for me to conclude this comment with the words of the Blessed One:

"Sabbapapass akaraṇaṃ
Kusalassupasaṃpada
Sacittapariyodapanaṃ
Etaṃ buddhanasasanaṃ"

"Avoiding all sins, fulfilling virtues, purifying the mind.
These are the teachings of all the Buddhas."

Let the truth of the teaching, peace and well-being be available to all beings.

Upalisarn Jumbala

Chula Chakrabongs, H.R.H. Prince, *The Twain Have Met, or An Eastern Prince Came West.* G.T. Foulis & Co. Ltd., London 1956. 288 pages, ill.

Liberal thinkers, whether oriental or occidental, have probably not been very happy about the dictum of Rudyard Kipling that East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet. Prince Chula Chakrabongs therefore deserves our congratulations in thus coming forward to challenge the famous dictum with his autobiography. Numerous evidences in the book indicate a real understanding of both East and West, such as only a keen observer like the author can ever hope to possess. The personal background of the author as presented here shows a careful nurturing according to the best standard of an oriental mentality, followed by a thorough training in the ideals of an English educational system and English life. If heredity can influence character, as I believe it can, then his heredity may be held up as one of the important factors in thus moulding a mentality which has been able to digest the aristocratic heritage of successive generations of Siam's rulers, thus facilitating absorption of all that is noble in the West; after all, the ideals of a gentleman is identical whether in the East or in the West. To give just one or two evidences of his correct evaluation of the East and of his ability to so word it as to be intelligible to the Westerner, let us quote his presentation, on page 71, of the Siamese attitude on the images of the Buddha, where he says:

> "The Buddha images are not worshipped separately, being merely works of art which lead our thoughts towards the Enlightened Master who had long passed on, for the Buddhist finds that the image helps his concentration when he pays his respect to the Great Teacher by renewing faith in Him, His Doctrine and the *Sangha* or established order of monks whose daily duty it is to preach the Doctrine to us today. There is nothing more idolatrous in our bowing before a Buddha image than the western practice of saluting the Cenotaph in remembrance of the dead of two world wars."

As for the law of cause and effect, which often puzzles Westerners, the author says a little lower down the same page:

> "..... for us flesh is not *sin*, but the source of sorrow, and as we believe in *Karma* or the law of cause and effect, sin therefore does not exist for us as such."

Again, writing about the institution of the white elephant (page 13) he comments:

> "They were kept rather as pets and never used for any work, being regarded as appendages to the King's majesty but never worshipped as sacred for themselves."

There can be no better valuation of the white elephant, which is often misunderstood by foreign writers to be held sacred. The fact that there is a tradition that the Buddha's mother dreamt that such an elephant came down from heaven just as she conceived her world-famous son has lent credence to the sanctity of the white elephant; but it really had nothing to do with the type sought for a king's stable.

The work has been called an autobiography by its author, and an autobiography it certainly is. This theme runs right through the book and consists of Prince Chula's antecedents, Prince Chula as a child, Prince Chula's education, Prince Chula's grown-up experiences, Prince Chula's position and life in Siamese and European Court circles and their royalties, Prince Chula's personal interests such as motoring and travel, Prince Chula's love and marriage and the patronage and friendship which he so kindly extended to his cousin the world famous "Bira" of the gold star fame. All this is interspersed with His Royal Highness' impressions of figures and facts of home politics as well as those of the world. His historian's mind has been responsible for a very sane treatment of Siamese history up to the cessation of the so-called absolute monarchy. History thereafter, though there is plenty of it in the book, is too close to modern actualities, and thereby possibly lends itself to unbalanced judgment, even by one who has, like Prince Chula, been

in the places about which he writes, yet who, unruffled by local loyalties or rivalries, has kept himself at a safe distance from their scene of conflict. So much for the general characteristics of the book. A review aiming at the constructive criticism which is usual in these pages should extend beyond mere generalisation.

Despite its unusual prologue, which will not be discussed here, the autobiography is invaluable for its varied fields of interest—history, travel, court etiquette and English country life all finding a treatment which is scholarly, thorough and appealing. But some comment should be made on the author's historical treatment. Readers may be perhaps disappointed with the obvious compromise that "As we ourselves call our country Muang Thai, the term Thailand is surely the closest English translation" (p. 6). One has to admit however that, after all, a compromise is an easy way of getting out of discussions of byzantine values. We cannot get out of the fact that the word *Thai*, often simply *Tai*, when used to distinguish racial units, has been accepted in scientific circles as indicating that earlier race which embraced a wider geographical area than the modern political entity usually known as Siam but which has now been changed officially to Thailand. As for the meaning of the word *Thai* rendered by quoting Bowring, one wonders whether a systematic writer of the calibre of Sir John Bowring would, if he now lived, have accepted this meaning. The word *Thai* (or *Tai*), when associated with the Mandarin *Ta*, meaning "great," has also been thought to indicate the original name of our race. Could it not have acquired the new meaning of "free" somewhat later when it became all important to emphasise our freedom from Khmer yoke?

On page 8, where the Thai Kingdom of Nanchao is discussed, Prince Chula should have taken into consideration the new theory, enunciated last November at the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, Section on Anthropology, that the Kingdom was founded by a Tibeto-Burman race which had ousted the Thai from the valleys of the Yangtse. In mentioning this, I must confess that I have to be convinced by more definite details before I accept the new theory.

The translation on page 10 of the name Sukhothai by "Happy Thai" is an unhappy etymological attempt of Phra Sarasas and is, of course, unacceptable. The name of the town of Sukhothai came into epigraphy towards the end of the XIIIth century in a classical form. No Thai name is known to have existed that is possible of having been indianised into Sukhothai or Sukhodaya. Sukhothai is of course the Thai phonetic form of the Pali Sukhodaya, which is *sukha* + *udaya*, 'the fount of happiness.' While still on page 10, it must be noted that the leader who led that mediaeval Thai migration to Nôŋ-sano and founded Ayudhyā was not named U Thong as is stated in this book. He was really named Ṕračao U Ťôŋ (or U Thong, if you like), which means the King of U Ťôŋ; his name has not been authentically recorded.

On page 17, a slip should be corrected. The Minister of the Treasury was Čaophyā Pra-Ḱlaŋ in Siamese and not Čaophyā Klaŋ. The form has been retained in foreign records as the *Barcalon*.

On page 23, it would not be historically justifiable to support Ṕra Sarasas' propaganda of vilification of the Chakri dynasty in connection with the mentality of the King of Dhonburi. That the King had lost his reason was a well-known fact, found not only in official documents of the Chakri dynasty of the time, but also revealed in unofficial and independent sources such as the correspondence of contemporary missionaries and traders of foreign nationality that may be found in the *Histoire de la Mission de Siam 1662-1811*, by Adrien Launay, Vol. II, under the headings of *Départ de l'Evêque et des missionaires* (1780), and *Démission et massacre de Phaja Tak*. As the author has pointed out, the way the King met his end was unfortunate, but it was the fault of circumstances, especially, one might add, in view of the imminence of a renewed campaign of conquest by the Burmese. In such a contingency it might have been very awkward if subversive elements were to make use of a deposed monarch, willy-nilly, as their rallying point behind the back of the reigning King leading his forces against the numerically superior enemy from the west.

On page 24 the author's attention should be drawn to the mistaken orthography of the name of Rama I's father. The name in fact has not been established in any of the standard histories. Since no other name has been forthcoming, the one mentioned may be provisionally accepted, coming as it does from no less a scholar than King Mongkut himself who was often Bowring's authority in such matters. Bowring's spelling is, however, faulty. He wrote *Phra Ackson Sundon Smiantra.* This really consisted of his rank *Phra*; his title, *Sundon*, in the middle, and finally his office, *Smiantra*, which is to say, 'Keeper of the Seal.' As for the title in the middle, it might have been *Akson Sundorn*, from the similarity of the spelling given; or it might have been *Akkhara Sundorn*, which actually was the title of the holder of that office when Rama I came to the throne; or it might have been, (though it is hardly likely) *Binič Akson* as given in the XVth century legislation of King Boroma Trailokanāth. The name *Surasri* (3 lines farther down) should be *Surasih*, 'the valiant lion' which is prescribed by the laws. The first spelling makes no sense. On page 28 the author is perfectly correct in maintaining that the ballet has never been a religious dance. In support of this contention the following passage from the epilogue of the Rāmakien of Rāma I is appended:

> "This royal writing of the Rāmakien has been attempted by His Majesty in accordance with Hindu tradition. The story should not be regarded as of basic value but is merely a part of the King's dedication to the Master's Teachings."

On page 34, in connection with the institution of surnames, it is necessary to correct the statement that "the King set up a department to help him think out the names, whereas my father made them up himself." As a matter of fact, the people who petitioned the King to grant them surnames were overwhelmingly more numerous than those who applied to any one else, with the possible exception of the administrative officials who, because they were in charge of the registration, had to be ready to coin names for those who stated they were unable to adopt any names for themselves.

The department mentioned by the author had long existed as that of the Royal Scribes, whose duties involved Court protocol. It drew up, for instance, official proclamations, the sovereign's formal autograph letters; it invented names and titles for royal bestowal and was generally responsible for all the literary activities of the monarch. King Rama VI was in fact quite adept at coining names, and he apparantly took pleasure in doing it, though when thousands of applications for surnames came in during the initial years of the institution of surnames he left the task mostly to the Royal Scribes.

On page 149, certain corrections should be made. The Supreme Council of State never really had a President, having been presided over by the Sovereign himself. None of the two elder princes mentioned as successive presidents of the Supreme Council was really a president. They acted in this capacity only during the King's absence from the capital.

On page 166, it is stated that Prince Wan had been living in retirement till called upon to advise the government of Phya Bahol; the truth was that after his transfer from London he was a professor in Chulalongkorn University.

Among the list of 'books quoted' in this book, one finds a creditable array of authorities for reference. A few, however, hardly deserve the serious attention of a writer of the author's calibre, even though he refutes their statements. *My Country Thailand*, by Phra Sarasas, for instance, which boasts of having reached five editions, can hardly be said to reflect credit on a book which lends it any authority at all. It is mere scurrilous propaganda which has been found beneath the attention of the Siam Society for review in this *Journal*.

Koh Lak, 17th April 1958.

Dhani

Buddhist Remains in India, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, 1956, with route-guides, maps and ill.141 pages.

The book has been made up of a collection of articles by various authors, of whom Mr. A. Ghosh, Director-General of Archeology, and Dr. A.C. Sen, Secretary of the Institute of Indology in Calcutta, were the largest contributors, though there were others who wrote important material such as the chapter on Taxila by Mme. Mitra. The Editor was Dr. A.C. Sen. It purports to be only a rapid survey of Buddhist remains from the archeological point of view. Monuments given priority treatment are naturally the classic four that are said to have been designated by the Buddha himself as the most sacred. They are Lumbini in modern Nepal, where he was born; Bodh-Gaya in Bihar, where he attained enlightenment; Sarnath, near Vārānasī where he delivered his first sermon; and Kusinārā (here called Kusinagara), where he died. They have now been identified with every certainty and are already places of constant pilgrimage. 'Other important places associated with Buddha,' as termed in the book, are Rājagriha so often his residence during many rainy retreats; Nālandā, seat of the later Buddhist university; Vaisāli, also favoured by him as a residence, and later the seat of the second Buddhist Council a century after his death; Srāvasti, the most frequently mentioned of his residences in the Sacred Canon; Sankasya, where he was said to have descended from on high after visiting his mother; Taxilā, seat of a famous university; Sānchi, which has a famous monument on a picturesque hill; and the rock caves of Bagh, Ajantā, Ellora, etc. Generally speaking, there seems to be more specialisation in the discription of the less important monuments, which probably were assigned a place in the book because of their artistic merit, thus appealing to the average visitor who is not particularly bent on a pilgrimage to other than the sacred places. The publication should be a very useful accompaniment to the visitor to Buddhist sites in India. These are of course mostly in the north and the west.

Sen, A.C.: *Asoka's Edicts*, Institute of Indology, 1956, w. preface by S.K. Chatterji, bibliography, ill, 170 pages.

The nature of this volume is stated on the flap of its cover: "While standard works on Asoka's Inscriptions by earlier authorities are either bulky and too much specialised, or too costly, or long out of print, or antiquated in view of later discoveries and researches, the present volume is designed for the general reader, which will at the same time serve as a standard manual for the specialist as well. . . " As Dr. Chatterji points out in his preface, Asoka's greatness is well proved by the reputation in which he is held all over the Buddhist world, whether in the Sanskrit canon rendered into Tibetan and Chinese or in the Pali of Theravāda Buddhism. He is now recognised by the world as one of the six greatest men in history. The recognition came no doubt from his making use of the imperial sway he had acquired in the interest of peace, as one may gather from reading this book. The Introduction tells us of the Inscriptions' nature, followed by a classification of them according to their contents, extent and the surface where on they are engraved. It proceeds to designate the *locales* of the Inscriptions, using a map; it then discusses the script employed, the Brahmi, which is "the mother of most of the scripts now current in India." Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that our Siamese script also traces its origin to that source. The language of the Inscriptions is said to be Prākrit, with close affinities to the Māgadhi section of it, not to one of the classical Prākrit dialects found in literature. Asoka called himself in the Inscriptions "Priyadarsin, the Beloved of the Gods," as well as other names. His family is also discussed; then the Kalinga War which was the cause of his renunciation of warlike activities. A chronology of his Inscriptions is given with long discussions. Then come geographical references in the Inscriptions, names of officials and functionaries, religious communities, the Emperor's idea of the *Dharma*, his administrative policy, the art of his stone-monuments, and finally a valuation of his character. Pages 51-169

give a series of the Edicts, commencing as a rule with notes as to their localities, then the substance with a brief mention of the version, date and individual subject, its translation into English preceding the original text with their Sanskritised forms and philological notes.

It should be added that the Edicts are interesting not only for their moral tone but principally for the historical and geographical information they contain.

Han Lih-wu: *Taiwan today*, Hwa Kuo Publishing Co, Taipei, 3rd edition, 1955, 154 pages.

The scholarly Chinese Ambassador in Bangkok has given us here a general survey of Taiwan, with chapters devoted to its political and social conditions, finance, agriculture, industry, communications and education. An index is attached. Generally speaking, it is a useful summary of administrative items of information, supported by statistics; but it would not be fair to say that the scope of the work is thus limited, for in many places one finds comments which tell us more. Under the subject of finance, for instance, we are told (on page 53) that "Government authorities do not underestimate Taiwan's financial difficulties, which are being faced with courage and determination. Certainly the ten years from 1945 to 1955 were neither easy nor prosperous. . ." Then further on (same page) ". . . our taxes are not too heavy. The financial burden on the people, according to statistics released by the Provincial Government, compares favourably with that in the peak year of Japanese rule in Taiwan." Again, and this may be of direct interest here too, we read: "Taiwan is essentially an agricultural area . . . ." (69), but (p.93) "Although Taiwan has its limitations in the development of heavy industries, the foundation for light industries . . . was well laid under the Japanese . . . primarily as a part of their imperial economy." According to the latest statistics the major outputs are gasoline, cement, sugar and cotton cloth.

Bangkok, 19th May 1958.

Dhani

RECENT SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS

Their Majesties' trip to visit the people of the north was the occasion for the publication of a number of handbooks containing general information on the provinces through which they travelled. Some of these books were full of interest, some were merely old publications which had been rebound with appropriate remarks of welcome to the royal visitors. An attempt is made here to review or to give short notices of the more interesting of these publications.

209. At Pisnulok there was a volume entitled, *The Story of the Province of Pisnulok, its Great Reliquary, its image of the Lord of Victory and wat Culāmanī*, ตำนานเมืองพิษณุโลกวัดพระศรีมหาธาตุพระพุทธชินราชและวัดจุฬามณี Prayurawonș Press, Bangkok, B.E. 2501, 22 pages, several illustrations.

This little pamphlet, written by Khun Siksākarmapiśes, educational inspector of division 7 of the Kingdom, is a mine of such information as would be of use to the average administrator. Its contents, besides texts of speeches on the occasion of the royal visit, and portraits of their Majesties which are given in most of such volumes, consists of a history of the town of Pisnulok which was at first in the time of the Khôm (Dvaravati) situated to the south of the modern town around the ruins of wat Culāmanī. This was probably called Sôŋkwê, 'The town between two streams.' Then arose Pisnulok, which was built about the middle of the XIVth century by King Litai of Sukhodaya, who has been accredited also with the unrivalled work of plastic art which has since graced Pisnulok and is known by the name of Pra Buddha Jinarāj, 'The Lord of Victory.' It is placed in a chapel of its own in the precincts of the monastery of the Great Reliquary. There used to be two other sister images, Pra Buddha Jinasih 'The Buddha (who was) a Lion of Victory (among men)' and Pra Śāsdā, 'The Teacher,' both of which are now in the monastery of Bovoranives in Bangkok. Pisnulok survived through the centuries as one of the most important

centres of the Sukhodaya and Ayudhya kingdoms. With the exception of the precincts of the chapel of the Lord of Victory, it was razed to the ground in the Burmese war of 1775; and, although it was rebuilt by sovereigns of the Bangkok regime, it is now only a provincial centre of administration that is but slowly recovering its pristine economic status.

The book goes on to describe the group of shrines surrounding that of the Lord of Victory and the various objects of art to be found there.

Then follows an account of wat Čulāmanī to the south on the left bank of the river where there is an inscription that names it as the *locale* of the ordination into the Holy Brotherhood of King Boroma-Trailokanāth in the presence of the Kings of Lānchāŋ, Chieŋmai and Hoŋsāwadi. The King took up residence there throughout his monastic term (8 months and 15 days) in 1465. Appended are a few photographs of more recent historical events, with two photographs of wat Čulāmanī, and a sketch plan of the royal pavilion built to accomodate the royal visitors on this occasion. A good map is included; and it should be admitted that the book has been got up in excellent taste.

210. At Tāk a compact book of general information was published and presented to their Majesties and members of the royal party; it is entitled, *About Tāk Province*, เรื่องเมืองตาก (Kārchāŋ Press, Bangkok, 2501, 160 pages, ill.)

The contents of this book are mainly historical, topographical and general. For a reader who is not interested in administrative matters of a more technical type the first two chapters are of interest. Old Tāk, of the Môn in the pre-Thai period, was further north where now the village of Bān Tāk stands, as evidenced by an old *čedi*, built according to local tradition to commemorate the single combat on elephants in the XIIIth century in which Rāmakamhêŋ, son of the King of Sukhodaya, vanquished the powerful but alien King of Chôd at a juncture when the latter was about to deal a

fatal blow at the King of Sukhodaya. It is of interest to note the fact, so far unrecorded elsewhere, that Chôd, instead of being somewhere near Mêsôd, should really be identified with an extensive group of ruins by the river Mêtün, in the district of Mêramās, which used to be on the highway from Burma to Sukhodaya. Tāk was later moved to the village of Rahêŋ in the XVth century. The King of Dhonburi, when Governor of Tāk, had his residence at the mango grove on the west bank of the river at Rahêŋ village. The administrative offices were then removed to the east bank where they now stand. The modern province of Tāk will be best known to future generations by the barrage just commenced at Yanhī which has been named Bhumibol Dam.

211. *The Yanhī Economic Development Project*, โครงการไฟฟ้าพลังน้ำยันฮี typewritten, 29 pages with maps, plans and photographs.

This volume, though technical, is of great general interest. It sums up the intended results of an annual production of 2,230 million units, which would render possible the irrigation of the Kampêŋpéj plain of 1,500,000 rai, the irrigation of the central plain and a system of water communications from Nakon Sawan to the Bhumibol Dam and thence to Hôd in the province of Chieŋmai. The estimated outlay is 550,000,000 baht; the profit is calculated to be 1,455,000,000 baht, giving a benefit to cost ratio at 2.64.

212. *An Historical Pamphlet on Lampāŋ*, สมุดประวัติศาสตร์ของจังหวัดลำปาง Aksorasilp Press, Bangkok, B.E. 2501, 48 pages, ill.

This pamphlet is divided into four parts, the first dealing with Lampāŋ history and geography, where it is noted that Lampāŋ was a very old city, having been built on the site of ancient ruins of an unknown name. It then took on the name of Khelānga and was also known as Kukutanagara, 'the City of the Cock.' It is known from records that Lampāŋ was built by Queen Cāmadevi, who came up from Lavapura (Lobpuri, which was then in Dvaravati). This Mon princess was sent up to colonise the north. In the XVIIIth century it took part in the struggle to rid the country of Burmese rule and

was raised to the status of a princedom. The second part of the book deals with the city's ethnological aspect, the third with customs and pastimes, with an extra part on tourism.

Also distributed on this occasion was an even smaller pamphlet, an old publication with a new cover dedicating the book to the royal visit. It was called *The Annal of the Monastery of Dôn T'ao*, ตำนานวัดพระแก้วดอนเต้า Lampāŋ, 2nd edition 2501, 14 pages. It deals with the legend of the 'Emerald' Buddha image, carved out of an opaque stone of green hue which had been found in a melon. The image is now gilded all over, and only a part is uncovered, revealing its interior. It was originally the property of this wat; but later it was transferred to the Chapel Royal of the Ruling dynasty known as The Reliquary of Lampāŋ Luaŋ ('Great Lampāŋ' *i.e.*, the old capital) across the river. It is annually brought here for public worship because it is widely venerated.

213. *The Development of the lignite mine of Mê Moh valley, province of Lampaŋ*, การพัฒนาแหล่งถ่านลิกไนท์ในลุ่มน้ำแม่เมาะจังหวัดลำปาง 27 pages, 8 maps and charts, 4 pages of photographs with an appendix.

This typewritten volume of valuable information deals with a definition of the mineral. Included are a history of lignite survey in Thailand, a description of the nature and the characteristics of lignite of the valley, and a description of the scheme, including the production and disposal of lignite, and the production of electricity therefrom. It will come into use when the Bhumibol dam is completed and operating.

214. Pra Dharmarājānuvat: *An Annal of the Reliquary of Sudeb Peak*, ตำนานพระธาตุดอยสุเทพ จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ Prasiŋhkarb Press, Chieŋmai, 2501, 23 pages.

The reverend author points out that this is a 'summary of existing records dealing with the famous Reliquary, told in a mixture of standard Siamese and the northern dialect.' The narration thus conceived runs as follows:

In B.E. 1874, year of the goat, Siŋhalese Buddhism, established by the Mon in their country, was introduced by way of Martaban to Sukhodaya by the Venerable Sumana, who possessed a miraculous relic of the Lord Buddha. Thirty-six years later King Künā of Chieŋmai invited Sumana to his kingdom and established the new cult of Siŋhalese Buddhism of the Theravāda School. The miraculous relic was enshrined within the precincts of wat Bupphārām. Later on it was discovered that instead of one relic there were two in the same receptacle. The King and the Ven. Sumana were pleased with the auspicious sign, believing that the original relic had spontaneously divided itself. The extra particle was then placed with all due reverence on the back of a royal elephant which was released to roam at will until it should come to rest where the divine will intended the extra relic to be located. The elephant went straight to a nearby mountain, uttered three echoing roars, walked three times round the peak of the mountain and then knelt down in respectful pose on top of it. The King thereupon had a reliquary in the from of a *cedi* built on the peak to house the relic. The elephant descended from the top and died at a spot now known as the White Elephant Shrine. The Reliquary of Sudeb Peak, built in 1471 (Christian era), has been continually honoured and maintained by the sovereigns of Chieŋmai. It was enlarged by King Müaŋketkêw in 1525; a *vihara* in front and another one at the back were built, with the surrounding gallery, in 1545; and the *nāga* staircase was added to it in 1557.

215. *Irrigation in the North*, การชลประทานในภาคเหนือ typewritten, 2501, 31 pages, with maps,, charts and photos.

Irrigation has been practised in the north since an early period, at least since the time of King Meŋrāi who founded Chieŋmai. It has now become a national activity and private schemes are still being carried on by individual groups. In this book each of the northern government schemes is described with statistics, maps and charts. Most of these northern provinces, especially Chieŋmai, can boast of extensive irrigation works and an abundance of water.

216. *A History of Fāŋ and the Plan of Development of Fāŋ Oil*, ประวัติเมืองฝางและแผนพัฒนาการน้ำมัน no name of press given, 2501, 89 pages.

The initial part, as its name implies, deals with the interesting story of Fāŋ's past from the time when Prince Ṕrom led the Thai across the Mêkhōŋ to the south, driving away the swarthy Khôm and establishing the first Thai settlement south of that river in 921 (Christian era), naming it Jayaprākār, 'the citadel of victory.' The history of the locality is then told at some detail as it is related to mediaeval and modern Fāŋ, which is now but a district of the province of Chieŋmai. The second part deals with the development of oil-boring work, and is more technical by nature. It is interesting to note that the site of ancient Fāŋ, or Jayaprākār as it was then called, is well within the area of oil-boring, where old mounds and even walls still exist. An image of the Buddha has been recovered in good condition from a depth of only a *sôk* (50cm.). It seems, however, difficult to judge its age from the picture reproduced in this book. It has been described as 'late Chieŋsên.'

217. Rāyanāg, Police Lt-Col. N.: *The General Condition and History of Chieŋrāi*, สภาพและประวัติศาสตร์ของจังหวัดเชียงราย Ruŋrüaŋ-dharm Press, Bangkok, 2501,51 pages w. map & ill.

The author, who is Governor of Chieŋrāi, is to be congratulated on having written one of the best handbooks of the royal tour, in spite of the duties of preparation for the great event, which must have been quite multifarious for him. Under 'general conditions' are included the usual facts and figures of topography, economics, administration, education and culture, public health, etc. We are enabled to gather that the province is now a progressive one in which agriculture dominates other livelihoods. Among the leading products are rice, tobacco and lac, though the last has not been doing well lately. Under the subject of history we have a well-summarised survey of Chieŋrāi's great past, gathered from the old *Annal of Siŋhanavati* and the *Ṕoŋsāwadār Yonok* of the late

Prayā Prajākič. The chronology accepted by the author from the latter is perhaps open to doubt in many instances. The earliest known inhabitants were the Lawa and some aborigines, who were superseded by the Ai-lao from Nakon Pā, in modern China. The latter seem to have penetrated as far south as Kāloŋ in the modern district of Wieŋ Pāpao in the province of Chieŋrāi and Čêhom, now a district of Lampāŋ, In the VIth century (Ch. era) the 'swarthy Khôm' from the south drove the Thai out of all these lands and built their northern outpost at Suvarnakômkam, near where Chieŋsên now stands. They also built 'on the upper Kok river' the stronghold of Umoŋgaselā on the ruins of the Thai settlement of Chieŋlac somewhere near modern Fāŋ. About 773 (Ch. E) a new wave of Thai migration, led by Prince Siŋhanavati, son of the King at Nôŋsê (Talifu in China), crossed the Mêkhôŋ and founded a new state, which was called by several names, somewhere near modern Chieŋsên, and seemed to have partly ousted the Khôm from that neighbourhood. After a long reign of 52 years he died in 824. The 27th successor of Siŋhanavati lost Chieŋsên to the swarthy Khôm from Umoŋgaselā; but dynastic fortune was later retrieved in 1056 by his son Prohm (Brahma) who pursued the enemy as far as a spot where Kampéŋpejra now stands. It was Prohm who rebuilt the enemy stronghold of Umoŋgaselā and renamed it Jayaprākār 'the citadel of victory.' It is now Fāŋ. Another Thai tribe from Mao, southwest of Nāncao, vanquished Prohm's successor in Jayaprākār. The latter, whose name has been given as Jayasiri, fled south and founded a new state which became known as Utôŋ. Two powerful Thai states then ruled in the north, one of which eventually produced the hero Meŋrāi, born in 1238, who was destined to lay the foundation of the Lānnā state of the Yonok branch of the Thai, and to found Chieŋmai as well as Chieŋrāi. Lānnā lasted till its conquest by Bureŋnôŋ of Burma in 1558, and remained under Burmese rule till it was liberated by the army of the King of Dhonburi under the command of Čao Prayā Čakri, later King Rama I of Bangkok, in the XIXth century.

218. *A souvenir of the royal visit to the inhabitants of Prê*, ที่ระลึกเสด็จพระราชดำเนินเยี่ยมราษฎรแพร่ Prayurawongs Press, Bangkok, 2501, 71 pages, w. map & ill.

This volume is made up of general information concerning the province's geography, history, ethnology, tourism and administration. It has, like other northern provinces, an extreme hot and cold climate according to the seasons. Its products are rice, teak, tobacco, beans, coconut, cotton, lac, etc., of which teak, tobacco (Virginia variety) and lac are the principal ones. Native tobacco used to be held in great esteem and is known as *yāsôŋ* from the fact that it grows best in the district of Sôŋ. The best *mieŋ* (tea) for chewing also comes from Prê. The province is now served by road, rail and air communications. Its people are Buddhist by creed, and predominantly Shan by race. They are peaceful by disposition. A portion is devoted to history, where it is related that Prê has existed since the XIIth Buddhist century, but "it is understood that the town was built after Chieŋmai." This would place the foundation of the town some seven or eight centuries after the XIIth Buddhist century. Customs and usages are described in greater detail than the material of other sections. There follow individual descriptions of each of the districts of Prê province. The district of Sôŋ contains an old citadel with treble earthen ramparts. It is stated that here might have been the capital of King Pisnukôrn, father of the heroines of the romance of *Pra Lô*; but, it adds, "This is an old tradition maintained by the country folk and not supported by tangible proofs." One cannot help adding that no tradition is supported by tangible proofs though it often gives a clue to impossible-looking identifications. An interesting chapter is added at the end of the volume, dealing with the Shan revolt which broke out here in 1903.

219. *A souvenir of the royal visit to the inhabitants of Nān*, ที่ระลึกเสด็จพระราชดำเนินเยี่ยมราษฎรจังหวัดน่าน Ecclesiastical Dept. Press, Bangkok, 2501, 27 pages, ill.

The booklet follows what is probably a common directive from official headquarters. Nān dates back to B.E. 1825 (1282) when Ṕñā Bhūḱā of Yāŋ founded the city of Woranakon (Varanagara), the locale of the musical play of the Royal Fine Arts Department that is now running. This Woranakôn was situated about 70 km. to the north of modern Nān. His fifth generation descendant, named Ṕñā Kārmŭaŋ, son of Ṕñā Phānôŋ, was the founder of old Nān on the other side of the river, where wat Chêhêŋ now stands. The modern town was transferred thence quite recently, though the chiefs of Nān, especially King Suriyaṕoŋs Pharitadej of the early XXth century, continued to sponsor with munificence the monastery of Chêhêŋ on the other side of the river.

220. *The Province of Uttaradith*, จังหวัดอุตรดิตถ์ Udom Press, Bangkok, 2501, 32 pages w. map and ill.

After four pages of general information about the province, there are twelve of history; the second half of the book (16 pages) consists of notes concerning personalities which have made Uttaradith famous. Though one can hardly say that there is anything outstanding here in the scholarly line, the volume is well got up and should form a pleasant souvenir of the royal visit.

Besides books for the royal tour, the following are some that have been published recently:

221. Sthirakoses: *Rôŋ ram ťamṕleŋ* ร้องรำทำเพลง Mitthai Press, Bangkok, 2500, 23 pages.

The learned author takes up here a phrase which summed up in times past the sense of entertainment. In his usual lexicographical approach he commences by defining each of the component parts of the phrase. *Rôŋ* is of course utterance, originating doubtless from jubilation or sorrow. *Ram* is a dance, under which heading the author goes on to define the varieties of the dance in practice. *Ťamṕleŋ* is playing on instruments, making music in all its varieties. A combination of the three is discussed

by the author, who concludes the brochure with a series of answers to questions on the topic.

222. *Buddha images representing incidents in the Master's life,* พระพุทธรูปปางต่างๆ Pračand Press, Bangkok, 2500, 133 pages, ill.

His Majesty, desiring to make a printed record of the images representing incidents of the Master's life as they have been handed down in Siamese art, arranged for the publication of this collection of photographs, some of which were taken by himself or under his personal direction. He further commanded Luaŋ Boribāl Buribhand and Mr. Kasem Buñsri to write notes in explanation of them. The notes are included in an abridged form. The publication is not a historical dissertation of Buddhist iconography, but merely a pictorial record of such images as are known as the *pra pāŋ*, or images representing successive incidents in the Master's life as handed down in Siam. For the purpose, photographs have been taken of the collection in the Hô Rājakarmānusôrn in the precincts of the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha as well as those of other sources, such as the gallery behind the main chapel of wat Beñčamabôpit.

According to the explanatory notes in the book, these incidents have been recorded in plastic form from an early age in India; they have been continually added to in this country till King Rama III of the Čakri dynasty standardised them in a set of some forty different images. Other images outside the collection represent, for instance, the individual pose for each of the seven weeks directly after the Enlightenment when tradition says the Master was in one attitude for each of the weeks. Included also here are the various attitudes for the use of those born on each of the seven days of the week and which are usually placed on altars in individual homes.

223. Amatyakul, T: Guide to Sukhodaya, นำเที่ยวสุโขทัย Ruŋrūaŋdharm Press, Bangkok, 2497, 99 pages, w. map & ill.

It is pointed out in the preface, signed by the previous Prime Minister, Pibulsongram, that since the institution of a commission has materialised to restore old Sukhodaya, a great deal of its aims have been accomplished and that there is laid before us now the full glory of the old kingdom of Rāmaḱamhêŋ the Great, recalling to us the former national spirit of the Thai. Another commission has therefore been appointed with the mandate of writing a history of Sukhodaya and, also, in conjunction with the commission of restoration, to bring out a guidebook of the city. This guidebook is the result of the commission's work.

The book commences with a few words concerning the topography of the modern province of Sukhodaya, giving directions for travelling from the modern to the old city. It then takes up archeological matters in detail. Starting with the new town, the centre of administration, in which there is a museum which came into being through the initiative of Ṕra Borānavatthāc̆ārya, abbot of wat Rājadhāni in the new town, the author goes on to a second museum in the administration building; he then proceeds to the altar of the Old Dame, whose effigy on a stone slab has been brought from a hillock about 7 km. to the west of old Sukhodaya where it stood in danger of disappearing because of the popular demand for bits of it to serve as charms or as an ingredient for medicinal mixtures. The Old Dame was mentioned in Rāmakamhêŋ's inscription. The author then takes us to the old city, where he describes to us monuments in successive order as one approaches it from the east till he reaches the treble walls of the old city. In front of each city gate there is a semicircular mound of earth, no doubt meant for fortification purposes such as those to be found in Peking. Between the three walls there are deep ditches, which the author thinks must have served as reservoirs, because aqueducts have been found leading from it to various points within the city. One presumes that the author did not rule out altogether the possibility of their having been constructed primarily for defensive purposes. Within the city there is a big lake, which, one might presume, can

be identified with Rāmaḱamhêŋ's mid-city reservoir, storing, in the King's own words, "clear and good water such as can be found in the Khōŋ in the dry season." We are then introduced to the famous stone slab named manaŋsilā, the 'wish-stone,' which, brought down by King Mongkut to Bangkok, was used as a coronation seat by Rama VI, but which has been relegated since 1926 to a small chapel within the precincts of Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha. We then come to the Great Reliquary and the royal palace in the middle of the city, and proceed to various other monuments, such as wat Sri Savai, thought to have been a Brahmin temple in the heyday of Sukhodaya; wat Sijum to the northwest where an edifice takes the place of a *čedi* and is unusual because of the labyrinth within its wall by which one can mount behind the presiding image of the Buddha and on to the top of the wall; wat Ṕra Ṕāiluaŋ, believed to have been built on the site of the old citadel of the Khôm prior to the time when the Thai took the city from them, with the kilns of Sankhalok-ware just beyond it; and then wat Čedi Si-hôŋ, believed to have been one monastery with the latter as living quarters. It is remarkable for the ornate stucco moulding which covers the *čedi* and is of great artistic beauty. To the west of the town there is the park and hill called, in the inscription of Ramaḱamhêŋ, the Bihār araññik, or the 'Rustic Vihāra,' which that monarch dedicated to the great teacher hailing from Nakon Sri Dharmarāj. On this hill is the magnificent standing Buddha that is discernible from a considerable distance.

The guide is well illustrated; it has a map which is, however, too abbreviated; it should have consisted of ground plans of the more important monuments like the Great Reliquary in the middle of the city.

224. Mongkut, H.M. King: *Royal Autographs*, พระราชสาสน์พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว พระราชทานไปยังประเทศต่าง ๆ ภาค ๑ Ruŋrüaŋdharm Press, Bangkok, 2501, 157 pages, ill.

This volume was sponsored by the family of the late Prince Sessiri Kridakara on the occasion of the cremation of his remains. According to the preface written in the name of the Fine Arts Department of the Government, the publication was hurriedly made owing to the urgent request for material in connection with King Mongkut, who was grandfather to the deceased. No opportunity could be found therefore to examine the manuscript, even with regard to whether it was ever sent off to its destination, for what exists in the National Library is a mere draft written in folio. As for annotation of any kind, or identification of the doubtless inaccuracies in recording names, no effort has been possible. One cannot help thinking why, generally speaking, when manuscripts have been in its posssession for so long a time, the Department in question could not have sifted and examined their material. It is a pity that similar excuses are time and again made for many publications of valuable material by an authoritative agency like the National Library of the Government's Fine Arts Department.

There is of course a biography of the deceased. It is written by Princess Poon Diskul. It follows the progress of his life in the usual way. Her remark at the end is significant. The sons of Prince Nares and Mom Subhāb, of whom the deceased was one, had all been brought up in England, so that they were more conversant with English ways than with their own. Like Englishmen they were restrained outwardly; they had an application for work, but they were capable of fun. That was why they endeared themselves to the younger generation of which the writer of the biography was one. She thought that, with the exception of the four elder sons of King Chulalongkorn, the Princes Kitiyakara, Rabi, Pravitra and Chira, there was no one among old England students but these Kridakara brothers who could shine with conspicuous brilliance.

Their careers were like unto brilliant stars which, however, paled before the light of day and one by one went out with the sole exception of Prince Sithiporn, now a farmer at Bangboed. This impression of Princess Poon is interesting. It may not be understood, especially at a time when most people resent the assuming of a foreign veneer. It reflects, however, a type of mind widely prevalent at certain periods in the past when anything *farang* was an unquestioned ornament. It almost tends to minimise the real and exceptional gifts of the Kridakara family.

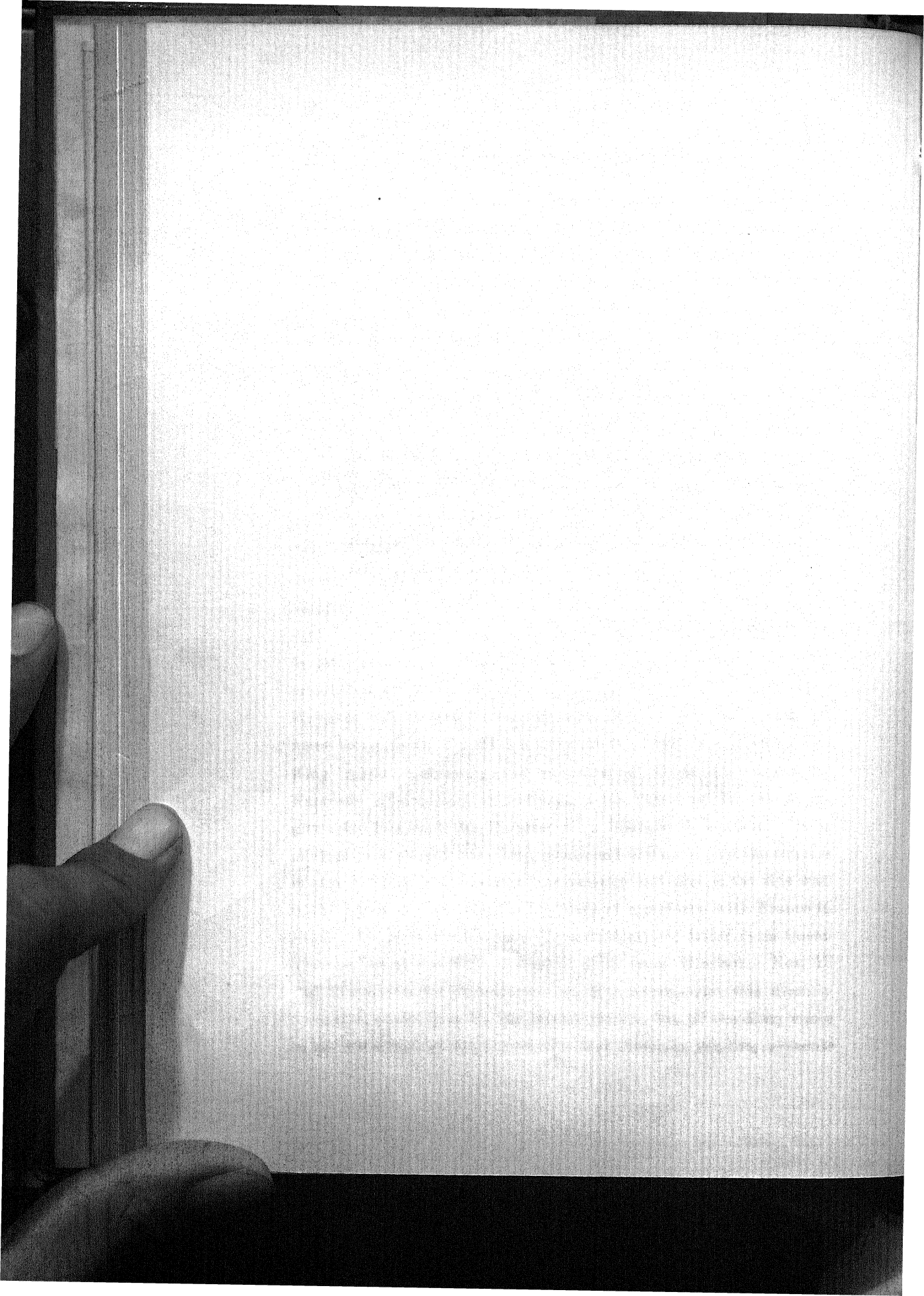
King Mongkut has been recognised as a prolific letter writer. The style of the letters published here is very much more protracted than the usual royal autographs, especially those produced nowadays. The collection is mostly made up of expressions of goodwill and courtesy. Taking up, for example, a few of them, letter No .9 (as numbered in the table of contents), dated the 19th May 1865, acknowledged the receipt from the Emperor Napoleon III of the Grand Cross of an order of chivalry, the name of which is not mentioned but which the editor might have found with ease. King Mongkut reciprocated by sending some decorations, again with no name being given. No. 10 is a memorandum, not a letter, which the King made concerning the presentation of an oil canvas by Napoleon III depicting an audience at the Palace of Fontainebleau given by him and the Empress to a Siamese delegation. It is obvious—and should have been mentioned in a note—that the canvass is now hanging in the central throne-room of Čakri on the side wall to the north. No. 16 mentions a treaty of commerce with France in 1856. No. 22 is a translation of an autographed letter from Queen Victoria, dated the 28th December 1855 from Windsor. Nos. 13 and 32 concern the credentials—but of a consul—who was directly accredited to the King by the British Queen. No. 37 the King wrote to the President of the United States of America sending presents

and offering to send (not *sending* as stated in the caption of the letter made by the editor of the National Library) elephants for breeding, by way of returning the President's courtesy in sending him a sword and a photograph. It should not have been of insurmountable difficulty to find out the name of the President for a date is found within the letter. With regard to his idea of elephants being brought to America the King said:

> "In my conversation with the captain of an American man-of-war who came to see me, I learn that there is no elephant in America.... Now if couples of young elephants were imported and left in some of the forests in your country where there is sufficient pasturage for them, they would soon multiply. Your people would be able to train them for use as we do here for elephants are strong and hardy and will bear the strain of hard travel."

Bangkok, 14th May 1958.

D.



PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST IN OTHER JOURNALS.

Artibus Asiae

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Special volume dedicated to Dupont

Auboyer, J : L'arc et la flèche dans l'iconographie ancienne de l'Inde.

Boisselier, J : Arts du Champa et du Cambodge préangkorien; la date de Mi-soń E – 1.

Coedès, G : Une roue de la loi avec une inscription en Pali provenant du site de P'ra Pathom.

Dhaninivat : Phra Pathom in mediaeval tradition.

Giteau, M : The boar aspect of Vishnu in Khmer art.

Griswold, A.B : New evidence for the dating of Sukhodaya art.

Luce, G.H : The 550 Jatakas in old Burma.

Malleret, L : Objets de bronze communs au Cambodge, à la Malaisie et à l'Indonésie.

Subhadradis Diskul : Muang Fa Daed, an ancient town in old Thailand.

Salmony ? A : "Bronzes of India and Greater India," an exhibition at Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

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THE REPUBLICATION OF ARTICLES ON SIAMESE HISTORY

During recent years, serious scholars of Siam have indicated that there existed a pressing need for a dependable body of source material on the history of the country. In order to help fill this need, the Council of the Siam Society decided to publish anew the most authoritive of the articles on Siamese history that have appeared in the pages of the *Journal* during the course of the fifty-four years of the Society's existence. This decision was strengthened by an offer from the United States Information Service to publish the articles with the facilities at its Regional Reproduction Center in the Philippines. The Council of the Siam Society has most gratefully accepted this offer.

His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh, the President of the Council, appointed a Special Committee and charged it with the selection of the articles from the past issues of the *Journal*. The members of this Committee were Dr. Joseph Gould, chairman, Dean Rong Syamanonda, Mom Rajawongse Sumonajati Swasdikul, Phya Anuman Rajadhon, Mr. Kachorn Sukhabanij, Dr. Frank Williston, and Mrs. Mary Sanford. This Committee made a careful examination of all the articles that dealt with Siamese history and it has now selected those which it adjudged most valuable as source material.

These articles will be published during the current year. They have been grouped in six sections, each of which will be published as a volume. The first volume contains articles on early history, including that of Ayudhya; the second, material on Lopburi, Bangkok, and Bhuket; the third and fourth cover the history of Siam's relations with Burma; the fifth, on Siam's relations with Portugal, Holland, and the Vatican; and the sixth, on her relations with France, England, and Denmark. The articles that will be published, according to their grouping in the six volumes, are as follows:

Vol. I. Early History and Ayudhya

"Siam in 1688 – A Translation of an Early Narrative," by O. Frankfurter.

"Siamese History Prior to the Founding of Ayudhya – Translated from the Siamese of H.R.H. Prince Damrong," by J. Crosby.

"Prehistorical Researches in Siam," by Fritz Sarasin.

"The History of the Thai in Yunan, 2205 B.C. – 1253 A.D.," by M. Carthew.

"A Short Account of the Ahom People," by Eric T.D. Lambert.

"The Foundation of Ayuthia," by H.R.H. Prince Damrong.

"Some Notes Upon the Development of the Commerce of Siam," by W. Nunn.

"The City of Thawarawadi Sri Ayudhya," by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat.

"Kingship in Siam," by Phya Srivisarn Vacha.

"Siam and the Pottery Trade of Asia," by Charles Nelson Spinks.

Vol. II. Lopburi, Bangkok, Bhuket

"Historical Retrospect of Junkceylon Island," by G.E. Gerini.

"Historical Sketch of Lopburi," by H.R.H. Prince Damrong.

"Lopburi Past and Present," by R.W. Giblin.

"Phaulkon's House in Lopburi," by E.W. Hutchinson.

"The Inscription of Wat Phra Jetubon," by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat.

"The Early Postal History of Thailand," by Paul P. Lindenberg.

"King Mongkut as a Legislator," by M.R. Seni Pramoj.

"The Reconstruction of Rama I of the Chakri Dynasty," by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat.

"King Mongkut in Perspective," by A.B. Griswold.

Vol. III. Relationship with Burma

"Burmese Invasions of Siam," as Recorded in Hmannan Yaza-windawgyi.

"Intercourse Between Burma and Siam," as Recorded in Hmannan Yazawindawgyi.

Vol. IV. Relationship with Burma

"Intercourse Between Burma and Siam," as Recorded in Hmannan Yazawindawgyi.

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"A Critical Analysis of Van Vliet's Historical Account," by Francis H. Giles.

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Vol. VI. Relationship with France, England and Denmark

"The Abbé de Choisy," by R.W. Giblin.

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"The Retirement of the French Garrison from Bangkok in the year 1688," by E.W. Hutchinson.

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"The Mission of Sir James Brooke to Siam, Sept. 1850."

"An Early English Merchant in Bangkok," by Adey Moore.

"From Mergui to Singapore - A Neglected Chapter in the Naval History of the Indian Ocean," by D.G.E. Hall.

"Early Trade Relations Between Denmark and Siam," by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat and Major E. Seidenfaden.

ANNUAL REPORT

1957

The Annual General Meeting terminating the year 1956 was held at the Society's Home, 60 Asoka Road, Bangkapi, on Wednesday the 20th March 1957, at 8.30 p.m., with His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh, President, in the chair.

The Meeting passed a unanimous resolution re-electing the old Council "en bloc" and also asked the Honorary Auditor, Phra Banijya Sara Vides, to serve for another year.

The Annual General Meeting was then followed by a lecture by Professsor Kai Gram of the Royal Danish Agricultural and Veterinary University, Copenhagen, who took as the subject of his lecture:— "Danish—Thai Botanical Co-operation and some Common Botanical Problems."

The Council upon taking office appointed the following standing committees:—

1. Finance	The Senior Vice-President (H.H. Prince Prem Purachatra); Chairman. The Honorary Secretary. The Honorary Treasurer.
2. Exchange	H.S.H. Prince Subhadradis Diskul; Chairman. The Honorary Librarian.
3. Natural History	Lt. General Phya Salwidhan Nidhes; Chaiman. H.S.H. Prince Piyarangsit Rangsit. H.E. Mr. Sukich Niminanhaeminda. H.E. Monsieur G. Seidenfaden. Dr. Robert Pendleton.
4. Travel	Mr. Sanya Dharmasakti; Chairman. The Honorary Secretary. H.S.H. Prince Ajavadis Diskul. Mom Rajawongse Sumonajati Swasdikul.

5. Editorial

The Honorary Editor of The Journal; Chairman.
H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh.
H.H. Prince Prem Purachatra.
Dr. J.S. Gould.
Mr. Cecil L. Sanford.
Mr. R. Swann.
Miss P. Liangpibul.

The whole Society heard with profound regret of the death of Dr. Robert Pendleton on June 22nd. Dr. Pendleton served on the Council for many years and was for a long time the energetic leader of the Society's Natural History Section. He was a regular contributor to the Society's Natural History Bulletin, and in this field the Society feels his loss most keenly.

At the beginning of the year Dr. Spinks, Editor of the Journal left Bangkok, and Dr. Frank Williston, Director of the Fulbright Foundation, assumed the editorship. He also left for the United States, and his place on the Council and the editorship of the Journal were taken over by Mr. Cecil Sanford, United State Cultural Attaché. Recently Mr. Sanford proceeded on home leave and Mr. William Wheaton has been acting as Editor until he returns. The Society is indeed fortunate to have enjoyed the services of these gentlemen, and it is to their credit that they have brought out three issues of the Journal during the period under review. The difficulties of gathering material, checking of proofs and seeing an issue through the printers, who have given us loyal services again, are sometimes underestimated. One issue of the Natural History Bulletin has also been published.

The Council has given much thought to the issue of publications and plans have now reached advanced stages for the issue of a work on "Siamese Hill Tribes" by Major Erik Seidenfaden, a former President of the Society. It is hoped also to produce a third Commemorative Publication consisting of historical articles of past numbers of the Journal.

The cost of paper has risen considerably during the past twelve months, and our publications take up a considerable amount of our income. Nevertheless, the Council feels that Members are interested in these publications, and that they are most definitely valued amongst learned societies and institutions abroad.

The Council acknowledges with very much gratitude a recent gift of Baht 20,000 from the Asia Foundation in Bangkok which will be utilized for paying for the printing of additional publications. This grant has been made possible largely because of the interest taken by the Asia Foundation's present Representative in Bangkok, Mr. Noel Busch.

During the year, the Council met for eleven business meetings; eight of these meetings were held at the President's House and the other three at the Society's home. To assist in the ever increasing secretarial duties of the Society, H.S.H. Princess Maryartra Diskul was appointed Assistant Honorary Secretary.

On the occasion of the seventy-second birthday of the President, all the members of the Council and their wives gave a dinner party for him at the Erawan Hotel and presented him with a gift. This happy event took place in mid-November last.

The Society's Membership to date is as follows:—

Royal Patron and Vice Patrons.	3
Honorary Members.	11
Corresponding Members.	14
Free Members.	3
Life Members.	66
Ordinary Members.	521
Total	618

This figure is higher than it has ever been before, and it is a source of gratification to the Council, especially as it covers so many nationalities.

The financial position of the Society is as satisfactory as it has been in previous years. Members have already been circulated with the Society's Accounts and therefore will be able

to see from these the sources of income and the main items of expenditure. Credit is again due our Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Jorgen Holm, who has been working tirelessly over the financial offairs of the Society, as well as trying to sell as many of our publications as possible.

The Council feels that further disposal of our stocks of publications is vital, so that more funds may be realized for the purpose of publishing additional and more interesting publications.

During the year, two members of the Council, the Honorary Secretary and the Chairman of the Exchange Committee, visited several countries abroad. The Honorary Secretary was able to talk about the work of the Society in Australia, the United States and England. He was given a warm welcome by the American Siam Society in Los Angeles. More recently the Chairman of the Exchange Committee has been a guest of the American Siam Society, whose programme and membership appears to be expanding on sound lines. The Council has been in close contact with that Society has been and has offered suggestions whenever called upon to do so.

After many years service on the Council, Dr. J.S. Gould left Siam to return to America, and because of all his hard work he has been elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Meetings and Excursions by the Society during the year were as follows:—

ORDINARY GENERAL MEETINGS

On 23rd June 1957	Shri D. Vallisinha lectured on "Buddhism in India."
On 27th June 1957	Dr. Somsak Pansamboon, M.D., lectured on "The Bioserological Consideration of the Migration of the Thai Race."
On 7th August 1957	Showing of the Film "Gautama The Buddha," through the courtesy of H.E. Monsieur A.M. Sahay, the Ambassador for India.
On 18th September 1957	Dr. Van Glassenapp lectured on "Buddhist Studies in Germany."
On 1st December 1957	Dr. B. Groslier lectured on "Indian Expansion in South East Asia."

On 4th December 1957	Dr. F. Loetsch lectured on "An Inventory of the Teak Forests in Northern Siam." This lecture was held at the request of the Royal Forest Dept. and was illustrated with slides.
On 6th December 1957	Dr. G.P. Murdock lectured on "Ancient Trade Routes in South-East Asia."
On 30th January 1958	Mr. T.H. Harrison lectured on "Relationships as evidenced by pottery specimens of Siam - Borneo," with an exhibition of these specimens.
On 12th February 1958	Mr. F.L. O'Rourke lectured on "Coffee culture in Siam and Similar World Areas." This lecture was illustrated with coloured slides.
On 19th February 1958	H.R.H. Prince Chula Chakrabongse lectuced on "How I talk about my country and people in England."

Excursions Visits were made to see the murals in the galleries of the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha in the Grand Palace on 9th July 1957, 16th July 1957, and 23rd July 1957. On all three visits, the President explained the outstanding features and the story of these murals.

On February 16th 1958, an excursion was made to Ayudhya to see some of the treasures found recently at this ancient capital. The Society is grateful to the Department of Fine Arts for arranging for members to see slides of these treasures before they made the visit. Particular thanks are due to Luang Boribal Buriphand for explaining these new treasures to members of the excursion and also for his general willingness to help the Society in various ways during the year.

Very recently, it has been possible to open the library from Mondays to Fridays inclusive, from 5.30 p.m. to 7 p.m., and it is hoped that more Members will be able to refer to its collection of books. So far it has not been possible to open the library on week-ends.

This report could not be complete without reference to the future showing of the Royal Films of His Majesty the King's ordination. This is not the first time that His Majesty has graciously lent his pictures for showing at the Society's Home, and it is your Council's wish that His Highness The President will personslly thank His Majesty The King for his kindness and general interest in the affairs of the Society.

The Council also welcomed with pleasure H.R.H. The Princess Mother, one of our Royal Vice-Patrons, who attended the ordinary general meeting on the 12th February.

The Council was also called upon to act as Co-sponsor of the Anthropological and Pre-historic Section's meetings of the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, which were held in December last year at Chulalongkorn University.

The Society also helped at the Southeast Asian Round Table Conference at the end of January. At reception for this and for the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, the President led the Council as the host to the participants.

The President, the Honorary Secretary and other Members of your council have given interviews to various persons interested in Cultural and Historical topics throughout the year.

The Council sincerely hopes that its efforts during the past year have met with the pleasure of Members, and that their work of investigation and encouragement of art, science and literature in relation to Siam and her neighbouring countries has progressed in the right direction.

THE EARLY *SYĀM* IN BURMA'S HISTORY

by

G. H. Luce

1

Not long ago, I was asked to give an opinion about a proposal to write the history of the Shans. The proposal came from a Shan scholar for whom I have great respect, and who was as well-fitted as any Shan I know to do the work. He planned to assemble copies of all the Shan State Chronicles extant; to glean all references to the Shan States in Burmese Chronicles; and finally to collect source materials in English. Such, in brief, was the plan. I had to point out that it omitted what, for the older periods at least, were the most important sources of all: the original Old Thai inscriptions of the north, the number of which, if those from East Burma, North Siam and Laos, are included, may well exceed a hundred;[1] and the dated contemporary records in Chinese, from the 13th century onwards. I do not know if these sources have been adequately tapped in Siam. They certainly have not in Burma. And since the earlier period, say 1250 to 1450 A.D., is the time of the mass-movements of the Dai[2] southward from Western Yünnan, radiating all over Further India and beyond, the subject is one, I think, that concerns Siam no less than Burma. I am a poor scholar of Thai; so I shall confine myself here to Chinese and Burmese sources. The Chinese ones are mainly the dynastic histories of the Mongols in China (the *Yüan-shih*), and the history of the earlier half of the Ming dynasty (the *Ming-shih*). The short, well-dated entries in the Court annals (*pên-chi*) of these histories can often be amplified by reference to the sections on geography (*ti-li-chih*), to the biographies of individuals (*lieh-chuan*), and accounts of foreign countries.

My enquiry here has been prepared during a rather short period of time, and I have certainly failed to collect all the references. But I have got on to cards about 150 dated entries in the *Yüan-shih* relating to the history of Dai peoples, and perhaps 200 under the early Ming. Here, at least, is a useful chronological frame into which a more complete story of the old inscriptions and the later chronicles may be fitted.

2

But first, a word about names. The word *Syām*, according to Professor Coedès,[3] first appears in Cham inscriptions of the 11th century; then in Khmer, on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat in the 12th. *Syam*, *Syaṁ* (written with a short vowel, and final *m* or Anusvāra), occurs over twenty times in the inscriptions of Pagan, the earliest being dated 1120 A.D.,[4] one of the earliest in Burmese. The word occurs usually in the lists of pagoda-slaves, male and female; it is rarely prefixed to the name, when it should really mean a Shan; it is generally suffixed, when it *may* mean merely that the person had a fair complexion, like a Shan. One *Syam* was a *Saṁbyaṅ*,[5] an Old Mon title for a high government official. One of the *Syaṁ* slaves was a woman-dancer,[6] one a pattern-weaver,[7] one a turner.[8] These names are recorded at Pagan, and there is nothing else to show where the slaves came from. But there is a place, *Khantī*, often mentioned in Pagan inscriptions,[9] which is doubtless derived from Shan *Khaṁ-tī*, "golden place." The name probably implies that the inhabitants were largely Shan. Khantī was an important place, with canal-irrigation and rice fields, in "the Six *Kharuin*" (Minbu district), on the west bank of the Irrawaddy about 80 miles below Pagan. The other Shan *Khaṁtīs* of the Upper Chindwin, P'u-t'ao, etc., are only mentioned at a later date.[10]

The Chinese name for the northern or northwestern Shans, variously written and pronounced, was *Pai-i*. I find it first in the *Yüan-shih* under the date 1278, with characters meaning "White Clothes";[11] next under the that 1287, with the characters "White Barbarians."[12] Of the twenty-odd mentions of *Pai-i* I have found in Yüan texts, about half are written "White Clothes" and half, "White Barbarians." In 1397, early in the Ming dynasty, the author of the first considerable monograph on the northern Shans, the *Pai-i-chuan*,[13] employs yet a third variant, "the Hundred Barbarians". Other variants occur in modern books. The application of the term in Yüan texts is usually (not always) confined to a small area of the Sino-Burman border, mostly between the Irrawaddy and the Salween. To the northeast, in 1325, there were Pai-i who raided Yün-lung *chou*,[14] just east of the Salween and west of Ta-li *fu*. To the southwest were the Pai-i of Mêng Nai *tien*,[15] who in 1285 stopped, near Tagaung, the peace mission sent by the King of Burma. The term was not generally applied to Dai peoples south of the Shan States of Burma.

3

On January 7th, 1253[16] Khubilai Khan captured Ta-li, the capital of old Nan-chao. The city fell with surprising ease, partly because of the suddenness of the attack (which was quite unprovoked), partly because the members of the ruling Tuan family were weakened by their struggle with their Kao ministers. But the conquest of the kingdom was not so easy. Khubilai's general, Uriyangqatai,[17] was a master of the art of war. He had fought, with his father, the great Sübötai, from Korea in the east to Poland and Germany in the west. Yet it took him four years of continual fighting before, in 1257, he could report the pacification of Yünnan. Afterwards, he conquered Tongking in

one campaign; and within two years he had fought his way northeast, through the rear of the Sung, by the way through Kuangsi, Kueichou and Hunan, to rejoin his master in Hupeh, on the south bank of the Yangtzŭ. "From the time of entering the enemy's frontier," says his biography, "he had fought time after time over a thousand *li*, and had never been defeated. Thirteen battles, great and small, he had fought, and killed over 400,000 of the Sung troops, and taken prisoner, great and small, three of their generals." Early in 1261, he died, not long after Khubilai had ascended the throne of China as the Emperor Shih Tsu.

Professor Coedès, to whom all of us students of Southeast Asian history owe an inestimable debt, has argued that Dai penetration of the south was an old and gradual process, not a sudden influx due to the Mongol conquest of Yünnan.[18] He points, with due reservation it is true, to the alleged founding of Mogaung in 1215, Möng Mai (in the S. Shan States) in 1223, and the Ahom conquest of Assam in 1229. So far as Burma and Assam are concerned, I feel that these early dates, based on late tradition, should be regarded with suspicion. In the 13th century, after the final conquest of Tagaung (*Takoṅ*) and the Kadu (*Kantū*) in 1228 A.D.,[19] right down to the Mongol conquest, the power and prestige of Pagan were at their highest in the north. Kaungzin (*Koṅcaṅ*) is mentioned in inscriptions in 1245, and probably in 1237. It was then ruled by the *Mahā-saman* minister, *Manorājā*, uncle of the king, exercising wide powers, it seems, in Upper Burma.[20] Kaungzin was a few miles south of modern Bhamo, on the east bank of the Irrawaddy. Perhaps at Bhamo itself, guarding the junction of the Ta-p'ing River and the Irrawaddy, was the old fortress (*mruiw*) of Nga-hsaung-chan (*Ṅa Choṅ Khyaṁ*), first mentioned in 1196 among the northern boundaries of the kingdom of Narapatisithu (*Cañsū II*).[21] So far as Upper Burma was concerned, this was not a likely time for big movements or concentrations of Shans;

nor, apart from late Chronicles and the Ahom *Buranjis*, is there any record of them.

After Khubilai's conquest of Ta-li in 1253, the Kao ministers (who had murdered Khubilai's envoys) were executed by the Mongols. The Tuan ruling family retained its title, *mahārāja*. One of the family, Hsin-chü-jih,[22] rose high in the Mongol service, and played an important part on the Burma frontier. He died in 1282, "having ruled Ta-li for altogether 23 years," from about 1259 onwards. Uriyangqatai drove east, leaving this frontier comparatively quiet. No wonder, then, that the Pai-i, who did not move south, tended to cluster here.

4

The ancient dwellers in these parts, southwest of Ta-li, were known to the Chinese, from the T'ang dynasty onwards, as the "Gold Teeth."[23] Fan Ch'o, author of the *Man-shu*[24] (863 A.D.), describes them thus: "... miscellaneous tribes of Yung-ch'ang and K'ai-nan. The Gold Teeth barbarians use carved plates of gold to cover their front teeth. When they have business and go out to interview people, they use these as an adornment. When they eat, they remove them." There is little doubt but that these Gold Teeth were the original Austric-speaking peoples, Palaung-RiangLawa, who once, before the arrival of Tibeto-Burman speakers and Shans, covered the whole north of Burma. When the proto-Burmans, on their way to Kyaukse, crossed Western Yünnan and the Northern Shan States in the 8th and early 9th centuries, they occupied, as the *Man-shu*[25] shows, much of the T'êng-yüeh/Yung-ch'ang area, between the 'Nmai Hka and the Mekong. At this time the easternmost of these Austric speakers, the Lawa, must have been pushed east towards their present centres, the hills east of the Salween. When the

Burmans passed on into the plains of Burma, a vacuum was left, into which the Pai-i tended steadily to drift. The Mongol conquest of Yünnan must have greatly increased the pressure. But the term "Gold Teeth" continued to be used for the whole area, including Lawa, now mostly to the east beyond the Salween, and Pai-i, massing on the Burma border between the Salween and the Irrawaddy.

The position is shown clearly in the geographical section of the *Yüan-shih*: [26] "*Comfortership of Gold Teeth and other places.* Their land is south west of Ta-li. The Lan-ts'ang *chiang* (the Mekong) bounds it to the east. It joins on to the land of *Mien* (Burma) on the west. The native southern barbarians comprise altogether eight kinds, namely, the Gold Teeth, the Pai-i, the P'o,[27] the O-ch'ang,[28] the P'iao,[29] the Hsieh,[30] the Ch'ü-lo,[31] and the Pi-su....[32] In the time of the Tuan family the Pai-i and other southern barbarians gradually returned to their former land. Thereafter the Gold Teeth and other southern barbarians slowly began to flourish. In the 4th year of Hsien Tsung of the Yüan dynasty (1254 A.D.), the pacification of Ta-li took place, and then an expedition was made against the Pai-i and other southern barbarians. At the beginning of the *chung-t'ung* period (1260-3 A.D.), the various chieftains of the Gold Teeth and Pai-i each sent their sons or younger brothers to Court with tribute. In the 2nd year (1261 A.D.) there was set up a Comfortership (*an-fu-ssŭ*) to control them.[33] In the 8th year of *chih-yüan* (1271 A.D.), the Gold Teeth and the Pai-i were divided to form the Comforters (*an-fu-shih*) of two Roads, the eastern and the western.[34] In the 12th year (1275 A.D.), the Western Road was changed into Chien-ning Road, and the Eastern Road into Chên-k'ang Road.[35] In the 15th year (1278 A.D.) the *an-fu* was changed into *hsüan-fu*, and the office of the *tsung-kuan* (Governor) of the Six Roads was set up. In the 23rd year (1286 A.D.), the

hsüan-fu-ssŭ of the two Roads was abolished, and both were placed under the *hsüan-fu-ssŭ* of Ta-li, Gold Teeth and other places."

There follows a detailed account of the Six Roads: *Jou-yüan Road*,[36] "south of Yung-ch'ang," was nearest to Ta-li and furthest to the northeast. It was largely inhabited by P'o. Perhaps it lay south along the main road from Yung-ch'ang to T'êng-yüeh. South of it was *Chên-k'ang* Road, the original "Eastern Road," between the Mekong and the Salween. It was inhabited by the "Black P'o";[37] but the main inhabitants of the hillier parts, I imagine, then as now were Lawa. Chên-k'ang is shown on Davies' map of Yünnan.[38] *Mang-shih* Road,[39] "south of Jou-yüan and west of the Salween," is also shown on the map, W. NW. of Chên-k'ang, between the Salween and the Upper Shweli. *Chên-hsi* Road[40] was "due west of Jou-yüan, parted from it by Lu-ch'uan." Its headquarters was Kan-ê, modern Kan-ai, southwest of T'êng-yüeh. It contained, as Huber has shown, the rivers A-ho (the Ta-p'ing), and A-hsi (the Nam Ti), its southern tributary from Nan-tien. *Lu-ch'uan* Road,[41] he says, corresponds to the Salween valley, and *P'ing-mien* Road[42] to that of the Shweli. P'ing-mien contained "the four farms of Lo-pi" and "Little Sha-mo-lung", which Huber rightly places in Möng Hum State, along the northern affluent of the Shweli, south of Nan-tien and Kan-ai. As for Lu-ch'uan, he has reason, but I do not think he is right, in placing it in the Salween valley (see his p. 669, n. 3). The text itself places it "east of Mang-shih." But the whole subsequent history of Lu-ch'uan,[43] constantly linked with P'ing-mien, and of such paramount importance under the early Ming, points to the Upper Shweli or Mao valley, not the Salween.[44] Here was the capital of "the Maw Shans." Sèlan, on the Burma border 13 miles east of Nam Hkam. The description in the *Yüan-shih* suggests a long valley, with 'head,' 'middle,' and 'tail.' It is likely enough that its headquarters, during its long struggle with the Ming, was moved for safety from the upper end to the lower.

It is stated that Chên-hsi (Kan-ai), Lu-ch'uan and P'ing-mien were all peopled by Pai-i; Nan-shan,[45] northwest of Chên-hsi, by Pai-i and O-ch'ang. It is not stated who the inhabitants of Mang-shih were. East of these were the P'o or P'o-i, which name may be a variant of Pai-i, and who are doubtless the Gold Teeth. Since Gold Teeth (nearest to China) was used as a name for the whole, we need to remember that it may really mean the Pai-i, especially when it refers to those who live on the Burma border.

5

The Pai-i hated, no doubt, their Mongol masters, who had ejected them from their ancestral homes; but unable at first to fight back, they were quick to make use of them to conquer perhaps a safer country farther south. The Mongol creed was simple: There is one Sun in Heaven, one Emperor on Earth. The Emperor Shih Tsu (Khubilai) had set his heart on conquering Southeast Asia. It was not difficult for the Pai-i to induce the Yünnan government, in 1271, to send an envoy, Kitai-toyin,[46] to the Pagan Court, demanding submission. Shih Tsu sent him again, in 1273, with an imperial letter threatening invasion.[47] In 1275, Ho T'ien-chio, the old Comforter of Chien-ning Road, made his report showing the Pai-i intrigues behind these missions.[48] He had gathered information from A-kuo,[49] "Chief of the Gold Teeth": "The reason why Kitai-toyin was sent to Mien, was because of my father, A-pi.[50] In the 9th year of *chih-yüan*, 3rd month (Mar. 31st-Apr. 28th, 1272), the king of Mien, hating my father, A-pi, led an army of several myriads to invade our land, captured my father, A-pi, and departed. There was nothing for it but to offer a heavy ransom to Mien, and so secure his release. From that time onward I have regarded the people of Mien-chung (Central Burma) as a mere pack of dogs." Ho T'ien-chio adds, "At present Mien has sent A-ti-pa[51] and others, nine in all, to spy out the movements

of his people. The present head of the Pai-i is a relation of A-kuo, and neighbour to Mien. He has stated that there are three routes to enter Mien: one by T'ien-pu-ma,[52] one by P'iao-tien, and one by the borders of A-kuo's land. All meet at Chiang-t'ou city of Mien. Moreover, a relative of A-kuo, A-t'i-fan,[53] is in Burma, holding five *tien* (native districts), each of over a myriad households; he desires to submit to China. A-kuo wants first to call A-t'i-fan and those of the Gold Teeth who have not yet yielded, and make them lead the way."

Already, on January 24th, 1271,[54] "the chieftains of three tribes of Gold Teeth and P'iao kingdom, A-ni Fu-lo-ting and A-ni Chao, came and submitted, and offered 3 tame eleqhants and 19 horses." They were probably near the Ta-p'ing road to Burma. A-kuo, another "chief of the Gold Teeth" and certainly on one of the three routes (Huber was probably right in taking it to be the ordinary caravan route that ran along the south bank of the Nam Ti and Ta-p'ing), was related to the "head of the Pai-i, neighbour to Burma"; also to A-t'i-fan, ruler of five native districts within Burma itself. It is pretty clear that they were all Shans, strung out along a line leading from T'êng-yüeh into Burma, some of them very likely along the edge of the hills east of the Irrawaddy.

In the 11th month of the 12th year (November 19th–December 18th, 1276) Yünnan reports: "We have sent persons to discover news of the ambassadors; but the P'u rebels blocked the way. But now the P'u have mostly submitted and the road is already open. The person we sent, A-ho, governor of Kan-ê (*Kan-ai*) of Gold Teeth, has found out that the ambassadors all reached Mien safely."[55]

Whoever the P'u[56] barbarians may have been (one modern Chinese scholar, at least, regards them as Pai-i), they must have been near Nan-tien; for early in 1277, Hu-tu (Qudu ?), Hsin-chü-jih, and T'o-lo-t'o-hai "were ordered by the Emperor toc hastise the yet unsubdued tribes of T'êng-yüeh,

the P'u, P'iao, A-ch'ang and Gold Teeth west of Yung-ch'ang, and to station themselves at Nan-tien".[57] Whether or not Huber was right in regarding A-ho, the Gold Teeth governor of Kan-ai, as identical with A-kuo, it is probable that he too was a Shan.

"In the 14th year, 3rd month[58] (April 5th—May 4th, 1277), the people of Mien, bearing a grudge against A-ho for his submission (to China), attacked his land and sought to set up stockades between T'êng-yüeh and Yung-ch'ang. ... They were altogether about forty or fifty thousand men, eight hundred elephants, and ten thousand horses." Hu-tu, Hsin-chü-jih and T'o-lo-t'o-hai, called to the rescue from Nan-tien, arrived with barely seven hundred men. After two days of fighting, "over 30 li", capture of 17 stockades, and "pursuit north as far as a narrow mountain mouth", and finally as far as Kan-ai, only one soldier on the Mongol side was killed by a captured elephant, not by the Burmans. The Burmese dead filled three big ditches, and many prisoners were captured. "Those who escaped, were intercepted and killed by A-ho and the A-ch'ang; so that those who got back were not many."

Huber points out that Nan-tien,[59] according to the *Ta-ming-i-t'ung-chih* before its occupation by the Mongols, was called Nan-sung or Nang-sung; and the pass leading thence towards T'êng-yüeh is still, he says, called Nang-sung *kuan*, *i.e.*, frontier-gate of Nang-sung. And he proceeds to identify *Nang-sung-kuan* with *Nga-chong-khyam*, the fortress (*mruiw*) where the fatal battle was fought which Burmans, from that day to this, have always regarded as a national disaster. Phonetically, the identification is impossible. The "narrow mountain-mouth" to which the pursuit led, was in the direction of Kan-ai, not of T'êng-yüeh. The battle, whose description shows internal signs of gross exaggeration, was, as admitted elsewhere in Huber's text (p.664), merely a frontier incident. And we know, from a contemporary inscription at Pagan,[60]

that *Ṅā Choṅ Khyam mruiw* was still held by the Burmans in 1278, a year after this incident.

6

What is chiefly striking about the raid is not its failure but the reckless daring of the Burmans in attempting it. They should have known, from Uriyangqatai's campaigns, what a terrible enemy they were bound to provoke. The Mongols were not slow to react. "In the 10th month[61] (Oct. 28th–Nov. 26th, 1277), Yünnan province sent Nâṡir ed-Dîn,[62] Comforter and Commander-in-Chief of the various Roads of Yünnan, at the head of over 3,840 (Huber–3,800) men, consisting of Mongols, Ts'uan,[63] P'o and Mo-so, to invade Mien. He reached Chiang-t'ou Shên-jou (?),[64] where the chieftain Hsi-an had set up his stockade, and obtained the submission of over 300 stockades,[65] including Mu-nai, Mu-yao, Meng T'ieh, Mu-chü, Mu-t'u, Mo-yü; the submission, also, of the native officials P'u-chê of Ch'ü-la with four thousand households; Ai Lü of Mêng Mo with a thousand households; of Mo-nai, Mêng K'uang and Li (*v.l.* Hei)-ta-pa-la with twenty thousand households; of the native official of Mêng Mang *tien* (native district), Fu-lu-pao, with ten thousand households; and of Mu (*v.l.* Shui)-tu-tan-t'u with 200 households. On account of the hot weather the army was withdrawn." The official report apparently reached the capital only on July 27th, 1279,[66] stating that Nâṡir ed-Dîn, "at the head of the Ta-li army, had reached Gold Teeth, P'u, P'iao, Ch'ü-la, and within the frontier of Mien kingdom. He had summoned 300 stockades to surrender, including Mang, Mu Chü, Mu T'u, etc., and registered 110, 200 households. The Emperor ordered the fixing of taxes and land-rents and setting up of post-stages and garrison troops. When the army returned, they offered twelve tame elephants to the Emperor."

Nâṡir ed-Dîn reached Chiang-t'ou, or perhaps rather (if the emendation suggested in note 64 is accepted) Ṅa Choṅ Khyaṁ just above it, near Bhamo. It does not seem likely that he took it. The other names are not easy to identify. Much of this old Shan region has been overrun by Palaungs and Kachins. The first name, Mu Nai, may be a variant for Mêng Nai or Mang Nai, the old name for the north of. Möng Mit State.[67] The five (unnamed) *tien* or native districts in Burma ruled by A-ti-fan, who, two years earlier, wished to submit to the Mongols, may well be included in the list. Mêng Mo may possibly be the Man Mo [68] of the later Ming dynasty, Old Bhamo (Myothit) on the north bank of the Ta-p'ing, 18 miles northeast of modern Bhamo at the foot of the mountains. There is still a Mo-yu village below Bhamo, near Kaungtôn, and a Mo-yu stream nearby, which flows into the Irrawaddy.[69] But these are only guesses.

7

One remembers that all this region east of the Irrawaddy, Möng Mit, the Lower Shweli and Bhamo, had been Shan rather than Burmese for several centuries. "Southwards from the Li Shui (Irrawaddy) ferry," said the *Man-shu*[70] (863 A.D.), "one reaches the Ch'i-hsien Mountains. West of the mountains there is Shên-lung *ho* (river) stockade." Somewhere in the neighbourhood, "on the Mo-ling Mountains, Nan-chao has specially built a city, and stations its most trusted servants there, to control the Five Regions... and the Ten Tribes (of Northern Burma)." Looking west one observes that "the whole area is malarious. The land is as flat as a whetstone. In winter grasses and trees do not wither. The sun sets at the level of the grasses." It is difficult to place this Nan-chao fortress north of Möng Mit. The proto-Burmans in the same century, escaping from the Nan-chao yoke, appear to have

given this region a wide berth, and crossed the Northern Shan States diagonally to Kyaukse, via Hsipaw and Lawksawk. Aniruddha, after the middle of the 11th century, made an expedition to Gandhālarāj (Nan-chao); he left his autograph Buddhist plaques at Tagaung,[71] and also at Nwatélè, a deserted village[72] some 15 miles southeast of Katha, in the far north of Möng Mit. It seems probable that he held off for a while this grave Nan-chao threat to the kingdom of the Burmans. But there is no evidence of Pagan penetration much to the east of the river. Pagan architecture, with its pointed, radiating arch, is still visible in the Southern Shan States from Lawksawk southwards. It has been traced also at Lamphun and Chieng Mai; and the links between the Mons of Burma and those of Haripuñjaya must have been close throughout most of the Pagan period. But the Pagan Arch has not been reported north of the Nam Tu.

8

For his small army Nâśir ed-Dîn had had to rely mostly on Yünnanese levies. But both he and the Emperor realized that more troops were needed to effect the conquest of Burma. They were not available till the autumn of 1283. On September 22nd of that year[73] the army, the size of which we do not know, marched from Yünnan Fu. On November 7th[74] it reached Nan-tien. Here it divided into three parts. T'ai-pu proceeded at once by the longer route via Lo-pi *tien* (Möng Hum).[75] On November 22nd, Yagan-tegin[76] left by the A-hsi (Nam Ti) and A-ho (Ta-p'ing) route, through Chên-hsi (Kan-yai) with orders to build 200 boats so as to command the river at Chiang-t'ou. The Commander-in-Chief, Prince Sängqüdär,[77] followed the P'iao-tien route north of the Ta-p'ing. On December 1st[78] they joined hands with T'ai-pu. On December 3rd,[79] proceeding by different routes, they fought (I imagine – it is not mentioned in

the Chinese) the fatal battle of Ṅa Choṅ Khyaṁ, On December 9th[80] "they captured Chiang-t'ou city, killing over 10,000 men in the fighting." They "took prisoner 10,000 of its keenest soldiers." The first report, sent with a map to the Emperor, arrived on February 5th, 1284.[81] It says that they had sent envoys to deliver a summons to the king of Mien, but there was no reply; also that "Chien-tu, formerly controlled by Mien, had wanted to submit (to China)." Its king had now submitted. "T'ai-kung city of the Chien-tu[82] is Mien's nest and hole. The rebels relied on it to resist our army. We sent Buddhist monks to warn them of the consequences, good or evil, of their actions; but they were murdered. So we have advanced both by water and land, and attacked T'ai-kung city and captured it. Twelve walled towns of the Chien-tu, Gold Teeth, etc., have all submited. General Ho-tai (Qadai?) and the *wan-hu* Pu-tu-man (Butman?) have been ordered to take 5,000 troops and garrison them."

The floodgates now were opened, and the Shans descended, westwards, perhaps, rather than southwards, and soon covered both banks of the river. The old Kadu (*Kantū*) or Thet (*Sak*) kingdom, with its eastern capital, Tagaung (*Takoṅ*), had once extended west as far as the valley of Manipur;[83] but the coming of the Chins from the north had split it in the Chindwin, and wars with the Burmans of Pagan had broken it from the south. Its ruin was soon to be completed by the Shan torrent which swept westwards, driving the Chins from their old homes in the Chindwin valley ("Hole of the Chins") back into the western hills.

Pagan (*Pukaṁ*) had not yet fallen, but its king had fled south to the Delta, earning his new name, *Tarukpliy*,[84] the king who "fled from the Turks." The Pagan Burmans called their invaders *Taruk*, presumably because (apart from local levies) Turkic tribes formed the majority in the Mongol armies.[85] The Pagan Burmans did not yield too easily. On May 10th, 1284,[86]

we read: "Quduq Tämür's army for the invasion of Mien encountered the rebels and was routed." Reinforcements had to be sent. On August 13th[87] Yünnan reports: "At T'êng-yüeh, Yung-ch'ang and Lo-pi-tan, the people's minds are wavering." A year later, August 26th, 1285,[88] Yünnan reports: "This year we have not yet had time to invade Mien. We beg leave to reap the autumn grain, and then first chastise Lo-pei *tien* and other tribes." On October 5th[89] it adds: "The two walled cities, Yung-ch'ang and T'êng-chung, lie between Mien kingdom and Gold Teeth. The walls are broken down and cannot be defended against an enemy. The Emperor gave orders that they should be repaired." On November 26th[90] the expedition to Lo.pi-tan was cancelled because of revolts in northeastern Yünnan.

9

In this year, 1285, King Tarukpliy, stopping in the hunters' jungle "at *Lhañkla* west of Prome (*Prañ*)," decided to submit, in order to avert a new invasion. The peace mission he sent is recorded both in Chinese[91] and in an Old Burmese inscription now at the Pagan Museum.[92] There are some discrepancies which cannot be discussed here because our subject is Shan history rather than Burmese. The Burmese version makes the leader a Buddhist monk, *Syan Disāprāmuk*, called in at the request of the ministers *Anantapicañ* and *Mahāpuiw* to act as secretary and spokesman. In the Chinese, the leader is the salt-mines minister, *A-pi-li-hsiang* (clearly, Anantapicañ), accompanied by *Mang-chih'pu-suan*.[93] In the 11th month (November 28th –December 26th, 1285) they reached Tagaung, where they were "stopped by the chieftain of the Pai-i of Mêng Nai *tien*, Tai-sai."[94] Credentials had first to be obtained from King Tarukpliy and passports from "Ni-su, native official of P'iao-tien,"[95] who informed the *hsüan-wei-ssŭ* of Ta-li, and the *hsüan-fu-ssŭ* of Chên-hsi, P'ing-mien and Lu-ch'uan.[96] The

Chief Comforter of Ta-li, who was about to lead a Mongol army to Chiang-t'ou, arranged a meeting en route at P'iao-tien, where negotiations took place with A-pi-li-hsiang. Syañ Disāpāmuk, after spending Lent at *Yachañ* (Yünnan Fu),[97] proceeded to *Taytū*[98] (Peking), which he reached at the end of the year (1286-7). He found that the Emperor had already sent a semi-military 'expedition to Burma' (*chêng-mien*), consisting of 20,000 soldiers and 70 monasteries of Buddhist monks. The latter, perhaps Tibetan Mahāyānists. were extremely reluctant to go. Khubilai had also sent, on July 18th, 1286, as imperial envoy, the Comforter of Chên-hsi, P'ing-mien and Lu-ch'uan, Ch'ieh-lieh,[99] "the Käräit."

Partly as a result, it seems, of the peace mission, this *chêng-mien* was halted in Upper Burma, and appears to have formed the basis of a new province of China, Chêng-mien Province, extending from Kaungzin in the north to Nga Singu in the south. Chêng-mien province lasted till April 4th, 1303, when it was abolished.[100] The Emperor had also decided to create, further south in the plains, yet another province, Mien-chung, in Central Burma. A member of the princely family of Kaoch'ang (Turfan), Hsüeh-hsüeh-ti-chin[101] – the *Susuttaki* of the Burmese inscription – was already named, on March 3rd, 1286, with other officials, as the State Minister of Mien-chung Province. Perhaps the heat of Central Burma was too much for them. Anyhow, on August 18th, 1290, "the Emperor abolished the provincial administration of Mien-chung."[102] On October 31st, 1291,[103] Hsüeh-hsüeh-ti-chin was transferred and made State Minister of the Central Government.

In the 1st month of the 24th year (January 15th-February 13th, 1287), Ch'ieh-lieh reached Mang Nai *tien*,[104] escorted by 500 men provided by Chêng-mien province. News arrived that King Tarukpliy "had been seized and imprisoned by his concubine's son, Pu-su-su-ku-li, at the place Hsi-li-ch'ieh-ta-la[105] (Śrī Ksetra, Old Prome). The latter had also put to

death three sons of the queen proper, and rebelled, together with four chief ministers, Mu-lang-chou,[106] etc. A-nan-ta,[107] the official appointed by the Prince of Yünnan, and others also were killed. In the 2nd month (February 14th-March 15th) Ch'ieh-lieh embarked on boats from Mang Nai *tien*, leaving there the 500 men of his original escort. Yünnan Province asked the Emperor's leave to advance during the autumn and punish (the rebels), but the request was refused. Yet soon afterwards, the Prince of Yünnan,[108] together with the other princes, advanced and invaded as far as P'u-kan[109] (Pagan), losing over 7,000 men of his army. Mien began to be pacified; and there was fixed a yearly tribute of local products."

Burmese Chronicles tell the tragic story of the death of King Tarukpliy.[110] He was poisoned at Prome, just as he was starting upstream to return to his capital, by his son by a lesser queen, the ruler of Prome. The parricide, ruler of Prome, is clearly the Pu-su-su-ku-li of the Chinese. *Su-ku-li* is Old Burmese *Sūkrī*, "headman." *Pu-su* (with the character *su* a diplograph) should hide the name of Prome (*Prañ*). A slight change of character (see n. 105) would give *Pu-lien*, about the nearest Chinese equivalent to *Prañ*.

10

As soon as Khubilai completed his conquest of China, he set about conquering Southeast Asia. In Siam, as in Burma, his regular method was to send a haughty embassy which, using threats, demanded submission. His relations with Siam were twofold: in the south, by sea with *Hsien*[111] (Sukhodaya and *Lo-hu*[112] (Lavo, Lopburi); in the north, by land with *Pa-pai-hsi-fu*[113] (Chieng Mai) and *Ch'e-li*[114] (Chieng Rung and the Sip Song P'an-na). Almost all the passages in the *Yüan-shih* relating to the southern contacts have been collected and translated by Pelliot.[115] The first contacts were

with the south; but when Ho Tzü-chih[116] in 1282 was sent on an embassy to Hsien, his ship was intercepted by the Chams (then at war with Khubilai), and the ambassadors killed. Contact with Lo-hu and the "Woman's Kingdom" began on December 4th, 1289.[117] It sent interesting tribute again on November 11th, 1291.[118] Hsien made contact, through Canton, on November 26th, 1292;[119] the Emperor sent his orders there on June 4th, 1293.[120] On July 5th, 1294 "Kan-mu-ting of Pi-ch'a-pu-li city" (P'echaburi) sent envoys to offer tribute;[121] and in the following month, on August 18th, the Emperor ordered "Kan-mu-ting, king of Hsien kingdom," to come to Court, or send hostages.[122] Professor Coedès[123] identifies Kan-mu-ting with the Khmer royal title *kamrateṅ*; and he takes these passages to show that Rāma Gamheṅ, king of Sukhodai, then engaged in conquering the north of Malaya, was making his temporary headquarters at P'echaburi, south of Ratburi. In the following year (1295), we read[124] that "the people of Hsien and Ma-li-yü-êrh had long been quarrelling and fighting with each other. Now both submitted." And the new Emperor, Ch'êng Tsung, ordered Hsien: "Do not injure Ma-li-yü-êrh. Do not trample on your promise." Lo-hu is cited here, as a recipient of favours, on January 23rd, 1297,[125] and again with Hsien on May 2nd of the same year.[126] On February 2nd, 1299, Hsien, Mo-la-yu (another variant for Malaya) and Lo-hu came to Court together, and the Crown Prince of Hsien was specially honoured.[127] Su-ku-t'ai (Sukhodaya) is mentioned by name on June 15th of the same year,[128] when several peoples of the southern sea came with a tribute of tigers, elephants and boats made of *sha-lo* wood. One of these 1299 embassies of Hsien is described in the section on Hsen in the *Yüan-shih*.[129] Another embassy, from Tiao-chi-erh, Chao-wa (Java), Hsien and Chan-pa (Champa?) arrived on July 7th, 1300.[130] Additional embassies from Hsien are recorded on the dates of April 4th, 1314,[131] January 22nd, 1319,[132] and February 6th, 1323.[133]

11

In the north, Yünnan had had contacts overland with pre-Thai Siam and Camboja, from the 9th century, if not earlier. Whether Nan-chao was Dai itself at the time, is open to question. The evidence of the *Man-shu* (863 A.D.) suggests that then it was largely Lolo or Tibeto-Burman in speech. The Dai preponderance, starting perhaps from the top layers of society, may have been a post-9th century development. Passages in the *Man-shu* that relate to the south, between Tongking and Burma, are chiefly the following:

(i) Ch.6, f.3r°. "From T'ung-hai city,[134] going south for 14 day-stages, one reaches Pu-t'ou.[135] From Pu-t'ou, proceeding by boat along the river for 35 days, one issues from (the region of) the southern *Man*. The barbarians do not understand boats: so they mostly take the T'ung-hai city road and, at Ku-yung-pu.[136] enter Lin-hsi-yüan of Chên-têng *chou*.[137] If they take the Feng-*chou* road[138] they proceed southwest of Liang-shui river-valley as far as Lung *ho*[139] ('Dragon River'). Again to the south it connects with the road to the Ch'ing-mu-hsiang[140] ('Dark wood perfume') mountains. Due south, one reaches K'un-lun kingdom."[141]

(ii Ch.6, f.4v°-5r°. – "Yin-shêng city.[142] – It is to the south of P'u-*t'an*,[143] 10 day-stages distant from Lung-wei city.[144] To the southeast there is T'ung-têng river-valley.[145] Due south it communicates with Ho-p'u river-valley.[146] Again due south it communicates with Ch'iang-lang river-valley.[147] But this borders the sea and is uninhabited land. To the east one reaches Sung-chiang river-valley.[148] To the south one reaches Chiung-ê river-valley.[149] Again to the south one reaches Lin-chi river-valley.[150] Again to the south-east one reaches the Ta-yin-k'ung[151] ('Great silver mine') Again to the south there are the Brahmans, Persians, Javanese, Borneans, K'un-lun[152] (Mon-Khmers?), and various (other)

peoples. In the places for outside intercourse and trade, there is abundance of all sorts of precious things. Gold and musk are regarded as the most precious commodities.

"The P'u-tzü, Ch'ang-tsung[153] ('Long Chignon'), etc.—several tens of tribal *Man*.

"Again, K'ai-nan city[154] is 11 day-stages south of Lung-wei city. It administers the *tu-tu's* city of Liu-chui-ho.[155]

"Again, Wei-yüan city, Fêng-i city and Li-jun city.[157] Within these, there are salt wells, over one hundred places. Mang Nai, Tao-ping, Hei-ch'ih[157] ('Black Teeth') etc., ten sorts of tribes, are all dependent. By land-route it is 10 day-stages distant from Yung-ch'ang. By water-route, descending to Mi-ch'ên[158] kingdom, it is 30 day-stages. To the south one reaches the southern sea. It is 3 day-stages distant from K'un-lun kingdom. In between also it administers Mu-chia-lo, Yü-ni, Li-ch'iang-tzü[159] and other clans, five sorts of tribes."

(iii) Ch.10, f.2v° — *K'un-lun* kingdom. — Due north, K'un-lun kingdom is 81 day-stages from the Hsi-êrh *ho* of the *Man* borders.[160] Products of the land are the dark wood perfume,[161] sandalwood perfume, dark-red sandalwood perfume, areca-nut trees, glazed ware, rock-crystal, bottle-gourds, unburnt brick, etc., various perfumes and herbs, precious stones, rhinoceros, etc.

"Once the *Man* rebels led an army with cavalry to attack it. The (people of) K'un-lun kingdom left the road open and let them advance. Then they cut the road behind the army and connected it with the river, letting the water cover it. Whether they advanced or retreated, (the *Man*) were helpless. Over ten thousand died of hunger. Of those who did not die, the K'un-lun severed the right wrists and let them go home."

(iv) Ch.10, f.3v° – "*Nü-wang*[162] kingdom ('Where Woman rules'). It is over 30 day-stages distant from Chên-nan *chieh-tu*[163] on the *Man* border. The kingdom is 10 day-stages distant from Huan-*chou*.[164] They regularly carry on trade with the common people of Huan-*chou*. The *Man* rebels once led 20,000 men to attack the kingdom. They were shot down by (the people of) Nü-wang with poisoned arrows. Not one in ten survived. The *Man* rebels then retreated.

"*Water Chên-la* kingdom and *Land Chên-la*[165] kingdom. These kingdoms are conterminous with Chên-nan of the *Man*. The *Man* rebels once led an army of cavalry as far as the seashore. When they saw the green waves roaring and breaking, they felt disappointed and took their army and went back home."

I do not know if the above passages of the *Man-shu* have already been studied by Siamese scholars; I have neither the knowledge nor the library to do so adequately myself. The following remarks are therefore merely preliminary and provisional. I take the K'un-lun kingdom of extracts ii and iii to be the Old Mon kingdom of *Haripuñjaya* (Lamphun). The common mention of the dark ark aromatic wood (*ch'ing-mu-hsiang*) suggests that extract i may also refer to the same kingdom: if so, for the 'south' of the itinerary, we must understand 'southwest.' The rough position of Yin-shêng/Wei-yüan/K'ai-nan, 10-11 stages south of T'êng-yüeh/Yung-ch'ang/Ta-li Lake, is fairly clear. Wei-yüan is still shown on the map (lat. 23° 29', long. 100° 55', according to Playfair), east of the Mekong, about 150 miles southeast of Yung-ch'ang, about 140 miles east of the Kunlong Ferry on the Salween. "The water-route descending to Mi-ch'ên kingdom," say to Pegu, could only have been down the Salween. If Yin-shêng was really south of T'êng-yüeh, it may have been in the Nam Ting valley, say, at Mêng Ting, just east of the Salween. The two *chieh-tu* cities, Yin-shêng and K'ai-nan, are likely to have been far apart, the former perhaps guarding the area

between the Salween and the Mekong, the latter the area east of the Mekong. If the K'un-lun kingdom is really *Haripñjaya* (and what else could it be?), the alleged distance (from K'ai-nan? Yin-shêng?), 3 stages, is a gross underestimate; 30 stages, like the distance to Mi-ch'ên, would be much more likely. On the other hand, the 81 stages alleged distance between the kingdom and Ta-li Lake, seems rather too much; the distance (about 500 miles) is less than four times that between Wei-yüan and Yung-ch'ang, 10 stages. But progress south of the frontier may well have been a good deal slower than north of it.

The itinerary given at the beginning of extract ii has no names that I can identify, not even K'un-lun kingdom. Did it follow a line to the east of it? It seems to have struck the Gulf of Siam at a blank spot and turned east, south, and south-east, to reach a "great silver mine", south of which there was clearly an international emporium. This, I imagine, was near the Great Lake of Cambodia or at the mouth of the Mekong. Nan-chao's invasion of the Chên-la kingdoms (extract iv) may have followed this route to the sea. No date is given, but a likely time would have been around 800 A.D., when Cambodia, split for the past century into Land Chên-la in the north and Water Chên-la in the south, was in a state of anarchy, more or less subject to the Śailendras of Java, before Jayavrman II (fl. 802-850) reunited and freed the kingdom and laid the foundations of the greatness of Angkor.[166] If the itinerary really crossed Siam, are these names Thai? Or are they pre-Thai?

Nü-wang kingdom, of extract iv, 10 stages (presumably west) from Ha-tinh, was probably on the middle Mekong, north of Land Chên-la, possibly at the great bend east of Vieng Chan. Conceivably (but there is a big gap in time), it was "the Woman's Kingdom" which joined Lavo in sending an embassy to Khubilai in 1289. Matriarchal regimes certainly existed, and still exist, among the older Austric-speaking peoples of Southeast Asia.[167]

Extract i is the most obscure; but except for the last two sentences, it does not seem to concern us here. The general sense, as I understand it,is that many of the *Man*, not being used to boats, would not, when they wished to go to the Tongking delta, take the easy route from Ku-yung-pu (Man-hao) down the Red River, but would diverge to the east, via Liang-shui-ch'uan (Ch'êng-chiang), and thus reach the delta overland, probably by the Hagiang and Clear River Route.[168] Or again, at Ku-yung-pu, they might have diverged south and gone overland towards K'un-lun kingdom (or kingdoms ?).

What provoked these southern expeditions of Nan-chao, which seem to have been mostly failures except on the Burma side? Nan-chao does not seem to have needed much provoking. It was a highly militarized state.[169] Every year, as soon as the harvest was in, compulsory military manoeuvres were held, which seem to have passed easily into large-scale dacoity beyond the frontiers, if only for purposes of self-support. An excuse, anyhow, was available in the fact that in 754[170] a prince of Land Chên-la had joined Ho Li-kuang in his invasion of eastern Nan-chao, in support of Li Mi's disastrous campaign against Ko-lo-fêng. But perhaps the chaotic condition of Camboja at the time was a sufficient invitation.

12

Leaping four centuries, from the T'ang to the Yuan, let us next consider the Chinese evidence on the regions south of Yünnan, as approached overland. We have already dealt (*supra*, p. 129) with the "Six Roads" of Gold Teeth. On April 26th, 1290,[171] two new Roads were added, perhaps to the west of the Six, *Mêng Lien*[172] and *Mêng Lai*.[173] *Mêng Lai* Road was the route by which, in 1301, the defeated army of the Mongols withdrew to China from Nga Singu,[174] in the north of Mandalay district. Huber places it in the Shweli valley, east of

Bhamo. *Mêng Lien* was probably in the same neighbourhood; if so, the Shweli may have been the line of division, with the Sinlumkaba hill-tracts of Bhamo on the north (*Mêng Lien?*), and the Kodaung hill-tracts of Möng Mit on the south (*Mêng-Lai?*).

South of the six western Roads, and including roughly the Shan States of Burma today, was "the wooded country," *Mu-pang*. *Mu-pang* Road[175] is barely mentioned in the incomplete geographical section of the *Yüan-shih*; the date of its creation is given as 1289 in the *Ming-shih*. South of *Chên-k'ang* Road to the east, along the Nam Ting valley, was *Mêng Ting* Road,[176] also barely mentioned in the *ti-li-chih* of the *Yüan-shih*; the *pên-chi* adds that on May 25th, 1294, "the Emperor appointed A-lu, an official of Gold Teeth who had submitted, as governor (*tsung-kuan*) of *Mêng Ting* Road, wearing at the waist the Tiger Tally."

The following allusions to the south (some not easy to identify) I give *seriatim*, in chronological order;–

(i) May 17th, 1278.[177] – "Yünnan Province summoned and subdued parts of Lin-an, Pai-i ("White Clothes") and Ho-ni–109 towns and stockades; parts of Wei-ch'u, Gold Teeth and Lo-lo–towns and stockades, military and civil, 32,200; the T'u-lao *Man*, Kao-chou and Yün-lien *chou*–19 towns and stockades."

(ii) August 31st, 1290.[178] – "The chieftains of Shê-li and Pai-i ("White Clothes") *tien* of Yünnan, altogether 11 *tien* (native districts), submitted to China."

(iii) October 11th, 1292.[179] – "The Emperor ordered Pu-tun Mang-wu-lu-mi-shih to take an army and attack Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom."

(iv) January 11th, 1293.[180] – "Yünnan Province reported that the newly submitted Gold Teeth lay just along the route of the expeditionary force sent out by Mang-wu-t'u-êrh-mi-shih, and that they could supply fodder and grain.

They recommended that the place be set up as *Mu-lai* Road. The Central Government petitioned that it be set up as a dependent *fu*, with Pu-po as *darugaci* (Mongol provincial governor) and the native Ma-lieh employed as prefect. The Emperor set up Mu-lai military and civil *fu*."

(v) January 30th, 1293.[181] – "A-san-nan Pu-pa, late military and civil *tsung-kuan* and *darugaci* of *Lu-ch'uan* Road, and Chao Shêng, etc., summoned the Gold Teeth native officials of Mu-hu-lu *tien*, Hu-lu-ma-nan (and) A-lu, to come and enter the Presence and offer tribute of local products. A-lu said that on the southeast borders of his land, which had not yet submitted (to China), there were about 200,000 people longing for civilization and anxious to submit. He requested the Emperor to vouchsafe an imperial order commanding Pu-pa and Chao Shêng to notify them. The Emperor approved."

(vi) February 12th, 1293.[182] – "The Emperor gave orders to summon and notify the Lacquered Head and Gold Teeth southern barbarians."

(vii) December 15th, 1293.[183] – "Owing to the increase of population in Mu-to *tien* of Gold Teeth, the Emperor set up a minor Road, *tsung-kuan-fu*, and granted the persons who were chiefs there double-pearl Tiger Tallies."

(viii) Reign of Ch'êng Tsung.– November 7th, 1294.[184] – "The newly submitted chieftian of Mêng Ai *tien* of Gold Teeth sent his son to come to Court; whereupon his land was set up as Mêng Ai military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu*."

(ix) December 29th, 1296.[185] – "The Emperor set up the military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu* of Ch'ê-li. The minister of Yünnan Province said: 'The land of Great Ch'ê-li interlocks, dogtooth-fashion, with Pa-pai-hsi-fu. At present Hu Nien of Great Ch'ê-li has already submitted; but Little Ch'ê-li, on the other hand, is occupying and blocking land facilities. They are

mostly killing and plundering each other. Hu Nien has sent his younger brother, Hu Lun, to request us specially to set up another office (*ssŭ*), to select a person well acquainted with the character and conditions of the southern barbarians, and to summon them to come and submit, and so cause their land to progress.'"

(x) September 21st, 1297.[186] "Pa-pai-hsi-fu rebelled and raided Ch'ê-li. The Emperor sent Yeh-hsien-pu-hua (Äsän-buqa) to lead troops to punish them."

The above passages show the rapid southward advance of the Mongols during the period that ended with the death of Khubilai in 1294, and a bit beyond. Extract i, 1278, shows them 'summoning and subduing' on a massive scale in northeast, southeast, and south central Yünnan. It is interesting to find the term *Pai-i* ("White Clothes") used in a context of Southern Yünnan: it was not then confined to the Burma border. Extract ii, 1290, mentions eleven "Shê-li and Pai-i ("White Clothes") native districts" submitting. I cannot place Shê-li, unless it is an early writing of Ch'ê-li (Sip Song P'an-na) with two unusual characters. Nor can I place Mu-hu-lu native district of Extract v (1293), but the recurrence of *hu-lu* in the names of the district and of the chief, Hu-lu-ma-nan, forcibly reminds one of the 'Hu-lu kingdom'[187] of Manchu times, the land of the Wild Wa (Ch'ia-wa), west of Chên-k'ang. The 'Lacquered Head and Gold Teeth' of Extract vi were also probably old Austric-speaking tribes of the interior; they remind one of the 'Tattooed Face barbarians',[188] mentioned, with the Gold Teeth, in the *Man-shu*.

Extract iii, October 11th, 1292, introduces us with a bang to Pa-pai-hsi-fu in North Siam, whose capital, Chieng Mai, according to Professor Coedès, was only built in 1296, though Mangray had chosen the site in 1292.[189] If the usual 'summoning' had taken place previously, it is not recorded (I think) in the *Yüan-shih*. Here I am hampered by not having at my disposal

the anonymous *Chao-pu-tsung-lu*,[190] "General Record of Summoning and Arresting" (12 folios), which appears, together with the text translated by Huber, in the History Section of the *Shou-shan-ko-ts'ung-shu* of Ch'ien Hsi-tsu. All I find in my notes is that "it helps to fill in the picture of the Mongol wars with the Dai of Ta-li, Gold Teeth, Ch'ê-li and Pa-pai-hsi-fu."

Professor Coedès refers us[191] to a passage in his translation of the old Pali Chronicle of North Siam, the *Jinakālamālinī* of Ratanāpañña (1517), which says that in 649*s.*/1287 A.D. "the three friends, *Māṁrāya* (Mangray), *Purchādana* (Ngam Müöng, prince of Müöng Phayao on the upper Mè Ing), and *Rocarāja* (Phra Ruang, *i.e.*, Rāma Gaṁheng, king of Sukhodai), had a meeting in a propitious place (*jayaiggha..ṭṭhāne*), and concluded a solemn pact of friendship, after which each returned to his own country."[192] This was followed in 1292 by Mangra's Conquest of Haripuñjaya. The Thai at this moment were in grave peril from the north; and it is easy to guess that the three leaders' main purpose was to clear the decks before the coming battle. Rāma Gaṁheng, it is true, made contact with Khubilai on November 26th, 1292;[193] but this, perhaps, was simply to buy time while he secured his conquests in the south. Mangray, it seems, was the leader in the resistance; and just as the three Shan brothers in Burma had to dispose of Pagan before they could face the Mongols with any hope of success, so Mangray had first to dispose of Haripuñjaya.

The first invasion of Pa-pai-hsi-fu (1292-3) was led by Mängü Türümish.[194] If he was the same man as the leader of the last invasion of Burma, eight years later (1300-1), he probably obtained some measure of success; otherwise, he would not have been sent again. To protect his communications a post was opened, early in 1293, at Mu-lai, southeast of Möng Lem (Extract iv); and at the end of the year Mu-to Road was set up near by, northeast of Kengtung State (Extract vii). A year later, after Khubilai's death, another post was set up at Mëng Ai, further north (Extract viii). There must, it seems, have

been an almost annual invasion. Under pressure of these constant attacks, 'Great Ch'ê-li' (Chieng Rung?), submitted at the end of 1296 (Extract ix); but 'Little Ch'ê-li', said to lie to the east (across the Mekhong?), resisted. In September 1297, Pa-pai-hsi-fu invaded Ch'ê-li, and Äsän-buqa was sent to punish them. He was of the Mongol-Käräit family, Grand Secretary of Yünnan, with the title "Senior Pillar of the Realm," etc.; the *Yüan-shih* contains his biography, but there is no mention in it of this campaign.

13

At this point we may return awhile to happenings in Burma. Burmese Chronicles relate how Klawcwā, ruler of *Tala*[195] (Twante), a senior son of Tarukpliy, resisted his father's murderer, and after the latter's death, returned as king to Pagan. An inscription there[196] shows that he received his anointing (*abhiseka*) early in Lent, 1289 A.D. On this occasion, poor as he must have been, he gave a handsome present of rice fields at *Khantī*, the Shan settlement in Minbu district, to the minister Jeyyasetṭhi. There is no mention of the three Shan brothers, the ultimate usurpers, being present at the ceremony. But already, several months earlier, they appear[197] – "the three great ministers, *Asaṅkhyā*, *Rājāsaṅkraṁ* and *Sīhasūra*" – making a dedication near Singaing (*Cactaruy*), north of Kyaukse, "after asking leave of the supreme lord, *Rhuy-nan-syaṅ* (Lord of the Golden Palace)," *i.e.*, Klawcwā. If they were indeed absent from the *abhiseka*, it looks like a slight.

The origin of the Shan brothers is obscure.[198] Perhaps it was somewhere in the hills east of Kyauksè. During the five years of interregnum, 1284 to 1289, they had made themselves masters of a large part of Kyauksè, "the Eleven *Kharuin*," the old home and chief granary of the Burmans. When Klaw-

cwā returned to Pagan, he appears to have regained the loyalty of the other, smaller granary, "the Six *Kharuin*" of Minbu; but Kyauksè stood aloof, if not hostile; and Pagan, without its main source of food and wealth, was feeble. It does not seem at all likely that the Kyauksè Shans (perhaps none too numerous) were an overflow from the north. The Pai-i or Great Shans of the China border were non-Buddhist – *diṭṭhi Syaṁ*, "Shan heretics", they are commonly called in later inscriptions;[199] whereas the Shan rulers of Kyauksè were every bit as Buddhist as the Burmans. The northern Shans left no inscriptions: those of Kyauksè left dozens, all written in Burmese, not Shan.

Mr. Harvey says that the brothers had been brought up at King Tarukpliy's Court, had taken wives there, and been entrusted by the king with the rule of Kyauksè. I find no old authority for this. Confusion in the late Burmese Chronicles has been caused by the fact that both Saw Nit, the last king of Pagan, and Sīhasūra, youngest of the Shan brothers, styled themselves *Chaṅ phlū skhiṅ*, "Lord of the White Elephant".[200] The only certain evidence of intermarriage in the inscriptions is that the eldest brother, *Asaṅkhyā*, in 1299, was the husband of *Caw Ū*, the granddaughter of *Sumlūla*, chief queen of Tarukpliy's father, and that he joined her (*Caw Ū*) in a dedication to the Shwezigôn *Sumlūla's* temple at Minnanthu.[201] In a brick monastery west of at Pagan, there is a fragment of inscription dated 1293,[202] setup by *Siri Asaṅkhyā*, who, with his younger brothers *Rāja* and *Sīhasu*, were generals and equals of the Pagan king and who had defeated the *Taruk* army. He, or they, still claimed to rule from *Ña Choṅ* (*Tiwā* in the north, to *Taluiṅsare* and *Tawai* (Tenasserim and Tavoy) in the south, from *Majjhāgiri* (the Fish Mountains, Arakan Yoma) in the west, to the *Sanlwaṅ* (Salween) in the east. There is nothing here, linking the Shan brothers with Pagan, that antedates the return of Klawcwā. No doubt Asaṅkhayā, and probably Rājasaṅkram,[203] for long temporized with him, and sought to rule the country

through him, till his subservience to the Mongols drove many of the Burmans into a 'resistance movement,' in which Sīhasūra, the youngest and strongest of the trio, early took the lead.

The Buddhist Shans of Kyauksè were in more or less secret league with the Buddhist Thai of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, and joined them, no less bravely and successfully, in their desperate resistance to the Mongols. But first let us note the rather mysterious evidence of their connections with Kyauksè. In 1300, when the Mongol emperor ordered a new expedition against Burma, it is said, "The rebels are in league with Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom. Their power is widely extended."[204] In 1298, Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chia,[205] an envoy sent by Yünnan to open relations with the Mons[206] of Lower Burma, now in revolt against Pagan, had provoked trouble by escorting, via Pagan, the Mon leaders taking their tribute to China. These were arrested by Klawcwā, though Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chia was allowed to proceed to Tagaung.[207] Soon afterwards, Klawcwā was dethroned by the Shan brothers and held in captivity, with two of his sons, at Myinzaing, east of Kyauksè, while Tsou Nieh[208] (Saw Nit) was placed on the Pagan throne. When Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chia returned to Pagan, Saw Nit told him, among other reasons for the dethronement, that Klawcwā "had called into Burma an army of our enemies of Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom, who robbed our kingdom of the cities of Kan-tang, San-tang, Chih-ma-la, Pan-lo,[209] etc." I have no doubt but that these places were four (or more) of the Eleven *Kharuin* of Kyauksè. Kan-tang is (*Mraṅ*) *khuntuiṅ*, Myingondaing, the most central; the first syllable is omitted to prevent confusion with *Mraṅcuiṅ* (Myinzaing). San-tang is *Saṅtoṅ* (Thindaung), in the northeast, Chih-ma-la is *Plaṅmanā* (Pyinmana), south-central near Kumè. Pan-lo is *Paṅlay* (Pinlè), farthest south. All four extended eastwards to the foot of the Shan Hills.

It is hard to believe that Klawcwā, a Pagan Burman, could have asked, much less persuaded, the Chieng Mai Shans

to help him to expel the Shans of Kyauksè. But it is not at all improbable that the Shan brothers borrowed troops from Chieng Mai, either to overawe the proud Burmese aristocracy of Kyauksè, or to meet the expected Mongol attack. And it is possible that they tried to bluff Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chia into believing that Klawcwā had done it; it is possible, also, that Saw Nit weakly lent his word to the deception. There may be other explanations. I am inclined to accept as a fact that Chieng Mai helped in the occupation of Kyauksè by the Buddhist Shans. In the autumn of 1299, in *Raṅun kharuin* to the west of Kyauksè, a dedication was made by the family of the "queen of the king called *Sirirāja*, who has conquered all his enemies."[210] The king is mentioned nowhere else.[211] I suspect he may have been a member of the old Burmese aristocracy who, after Klawcwā's dethronement, made a stand against the Shan occupation of Kyauksè, with some temporary success on the west side of the river Panlaung.

The Mongols were the first to capture Pagan, in 1287-8. Its ruin was completed by the Shans and the Mons. When Klawcwā, the headman of *Tala*, moved back to Pagan in 1289, the Mons of the Delta took the opportunity to revolt. Before 1293, Rājasaṅkraṁ and his follower Anantajayapakram[212] led a campaign which recovered Tala for a while.[213] But by 1298, when Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chia was sent by Yünnan to open relations with the Mon kingdom, and returned to China up the Irrawaddy, the Mons must have been masters of most of the Delta.

At Pagan, the three Shan brothers, usually called *saṁbyaṅ*, the Old Mon title for a senior minister, are commonly mentioned together in Pagan inscriptions, from 1289 to 1291,[214] endorsing Klawcwā's decisions. In 1292 Rājasaṅkraṁ alone appears.[215] Early in 1293, as we have seen in Asaṅkhayā's inscription at Pagan,[216] their policy begins to show itself. The three brothers are the generals, but also the equals, of the Pagan king, and they have defeated a *Taruk* army.

One obstacle to their plans was probably the prestige of Tarukpliy's grand old queen, the great Queen Saw of the Chronicles. These say, "Queen Saw had no son nor daughter";[217] but this is in plain contradiction of her own inscriptions in the Sawhlawun temple, Minnanthu: "my two beloved sons" and "my husband the king, father of my two beloved sons."[218] She and her favourite, perhaps the elder son, *Rājasū*, were busy making dedications in 1290.[219] In the spring of 1291 he was dead, and her heart was broken.[220] The other son was probably *Klacwā*, who always takes precedence of the three Shan brothers in her inscriptions.[221] He (or his brother) may be called "the king's son *Dhammmarac*";[222] if so, it suggests the possibility of his having been declared Crown Prince. We hear no more of Prince *Klacwā* till the autumn of 1293, when we find him married to *Puthuiw-nī Mañ* [223] (the only female *mañ*, I think, in Old Burmese, perhaps a courtesy title), 'queen of Pahto-ni', a small village in East Kyauksè, near Myinzaing. We do not know exactly when Queen Saw died; but it was well before 1300, when her younger sister, who took her place as chief queen at Pagan, set up her first inscription at Pwazaw.[224] I cannot but suspect that the Shan brothers played some part in these events.

The cat-and-mouse tactics of the Shan brothers continued. Early in 1294,[225] *Siṅghasū*, the youngest, was present at a Pagan audience. At the turn of the year 1294/5,[226] "the *saṁpyaṅ* Asaṅkhayā" also attends. In 1295, Sīhasū is first styled *Chaṅ phlū syaṅ*, "Lord of the White Elephant", in a Kyauksè inscription.[227] Near the end of the following year, 1296, he sets up his first inscription[228] at Myinzaing with true royal protocol: "The king called *Siṁhasūra*, fulfilled with virtue, might and splendour"; he has built a "golden monastery east of *Mraṅcuiṅ*" (Myinzaing), at the foot of the hills east of Kyauksè town, and dedicates a lot of small pieces of land in the eastern half of the district, and a large area in the hills behind Myinzaing.

Chinese texts, though based sometimes on contradictory reports, are our fullest informants about the last days of Pagan,

The following seems to me to be the probable course of events. Klawcwā, well nigh desperate, one imagines,turning to the only source from which effective help could be obtained,early in 1297 sent an important embassy to Peking, headed by his eldest son, Prince Singhapati.[229] He promised to pay a yearly tribute of 2,500 tacls of silver, 1,000 pieces of silk, 20 tame elephants and 10,000 piculs of grain.[230] On March 20th, 1297, in an edict given at length in the *pên-chi*,[231] the Emperor granted official appoint ment to Klawcwā as king of *Mien* with a silver seal, and to Singhapati as Crown Prince with a Tiger Tally; a Pearl Tiger Tally was also conferred on "Sa-pang-pa, younger brother of the king of *Mien*," and three on "the leader of the chieftains, *A-san*," *i.e.*, Asankhayā, including, no doubt, his two brothers. "Border generals of Yünnan, etc.," the edict concludes, "are not to raise armies without my authority."

According to Na-su-la's report,[232] Singhapati, on his return, was accompanied by the minister Chiao Hua-ti,[233] as deputy of the Mongol Court. On their arrival at Pagan, Klawcwā convoked a big assembly to hear the reading of the Emperor's edict. Rājasaṅkraṁ and Sīhasū absented themselves. This was probably the occasion when Ch'ieh-lieh, late Chief Secretary of Mien-chung province, "was made bearer of the imperial edict to publish abroad the majesty and virtue (of the Emperor) at *Mien*. The king of Mien bowed down his forehead to the ground and pronounced his thanks for the favour shown him. He sent his son and heir, Singhapati, to Court with tribute."[234]

In the autumn of 1297, things still seem normal at Pagan. "*Siṅkasū, saṁpyaṅ* in the royal presence," recommends to the king a largish grant of land in *Panan kharuin* (the centre of Kyauksè) to "his servant and follower, *Anantajayapakraṁ*."[235] The trouble comes to a head, as mentioned above, in March-April 1298,[236] when Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chia and the Mon envoys try to pass through Pagan. Klawcwā's arrest of the latter gives the two younger brothers an excuse to revolt. There were other

reasons also. The A-pa[237] tribe had rebelled, apparently, in the north; perhaps they were northen Shans, west of the Irrawaddy, on the border of Chêng-mien province. Klawcwā asked the Mongols for troops to deal with them. The rebels were indignant: "He calls in an army from China to kill, plunder and enslave us." They fortified their town and mustered troops to retaliate. Sīhasū and Rājasaṅkraṁ made common cause with the rebels. They ravaged the land of Mi-li-tu (*Mliytū*, Myedu, in the north of Shwebo district) and Pang-chia-lang.[238] Asaṅkhayā was sent to stop them, but failed, and was put under arrest. The rebels fortified themselves in the land of Pu-kan-yü-su-chi-lao-i,[239] and advanced by water and land to besiege Pagan. Na-su-la leads a sortie, but is captured. The monks of the capital persuade both sides to stop fighting and swear oaths of loyalty,[240] whereupon prisoners on both sides are released. But in the 5th month (June 10th - July 9th, 1298), the three brothers return with a large army, force an entrance into Pagan, arrest the king, his eldest son Singhapati, and younger son (sons?) Chao Chi-li (and) Chao P'u,[241] and imprison them all "for 11 months" in Myinzaing. "Ever since you submitted to China," they told Klawcwā "you have not ceased to load us with shames."[242]

Such is the version given in Huber's text, supported by a wealth of detail. It places the dethronement of Klawcwā and his removal to Myinzaing in June - July 1298. This date, however, clashes with a Myinzaing inscription[243] dated six months earlier, when "the dethroned king" (*Nan kla maṅ*) "appeared in full audience" in Myinzaing, listening to a request seconded by "the great minister *Asaṅkhyā*," and pouring water of dedication. He still retains in captivity, it seems, his religious functions. If this inscription is trusted (I cannot question it), one is led to believe that the arrest of the Mon embassy at Pagan was not by order of Klawcwā, who was in captivity 100 miles away, but by that of the brothers who afterwards bluffed Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chia into believing that he, not they, was responsible.

On the Pagan throne they left a puppet-king, Tsou Nieh[244] (*Caw Nac*, Saw Nit), "a bastard son of the king, 16 years old," telling him, it seems, to do his best to propitiate the Mongols. In the 6th month (July 10th to August 7th, 1298), he sent an envoy, A-chih-pu-ch'ieh-lan,[245] to Tagaung to report their version of what had happened, apologize to Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chia, and invite him to come to Pagan for discussions. When he arrived, Tsou Nieh put the blame on Klawcwā, and said he was preparing to send tribute to Peking by the hand of three high officials.[246] He also sent a letter to the Yünnan government, praising Asaṅkhayā, and giving the reasons why the three brothers (here named in full)[247] have dethroned Klawcwā and placed Asaṅkhayā on the throne.

To lend colour to their protestations, it appears that the three brothers allowed the captive Crown Prince, Singhapati, to head one further embassy to Peking. On April 13th, 1299[248] "the Crown Prince of Mien kingdom, Hsin-ho-pa-ti, submitted a memorial and came to thank the Emperor, who bestowed clothing on him and sent him back." The account in the section on *Mien*[249] is fuller: "In the 3rd year (1299 A.D.), 3rd month, Mien again sent its heir apparent to submit a memorial of thanks. He himself reported that his tribespeople were being killed and plundered by the Gold Teeth", *i.e.*, the Shans, "and that this had caused widespread poverty and want, and thus prevented him from being able to pay the tribute-offering of gold and silks at the appointed time. The Emperor took pity on him, and ordered him only every other year to offer elephants. Once more he bestowed clothing on him, and sent him back." Why did he not blurt out the whole truth, and beg the Emperor (as his brother did a few months later) to vindicate his father's right and punish the usurpers? I imagine they had sent spies to accompany him, and warned him that his father's life depended on his secrecy and quick return to Myinzaing. And so their poor victim duly

told his tale, and in a vain attempt to save his father, returned to his captivity and death.

But the truth was now beginning to leak out. The captive father and son having now served their purpose, on May 10th, 1299 (according to Na-su-la's report),[250] "Asaṅkhayā ordered his brother to kill the king and his two sons. K'ang-chi-lung Ku-ma-la-ch'ieh-shih-pa,[251] another son of the king, managed to escape." Conflicting accounts of the murders now poured in, which the murderers sought in vain to counteract.

Maṅ Lulaṅ, "the young king" (Tsou Nieh), was now with great publicity anointed king of Pagan. In the summer of 1299, "when the king appeared in full audience, in the glorious Presence of the Future Buddha Siri Tribhavanāditryāpavara-dhammarājā *Maṅ Lulaṅ*," a request was made, and the chief witnesses were "the great *saṁpyaṅ* Asaṅkhayā, the *saṁpyaṅ* Rājāsankraṁ, the *saṁpyaṅ* Sinkasū," etc.[252] After the death of her sister, Tarukpliy's queen, the youngest *Phwā Cau*, grandmother Saw, became the chief queen of *Maṅ Lulaṅ*. Horrified, one imagines, at the happenings around her, she left Pagan and settled in the little village of Pwazaw, still called after her, four miles inland from the city. Here she and her daughter and nephew found some comfort in a feverish burst of architectural activity, the last masterwork of Old Pagan – the Hsutaungbyi group with their great brick monasteries,[253] the Thitmati brick monastery,[254] the Adhiṭṭān temple,[255] and the last and almost loveliest of the greater temples, the Thitsawadi.[256]

14

During the autumn of 1299, if my views about King *Sirirāja* are correct (*supra*, p. 153), the Shan brothers must have been busy crushing a Burmese rebellion in the west of Kyauksè. Meanwhile, in the 8th month[257] (August 27th-September 25th) Kumārakassapa had made good his escape to Yünnan,

Here, Mängü Türümish, the imperial commissary, warmly espoused his cause. The latter's report was approved by the Emperor who, in the 9th month[258] (September 26th-October 24th) ordered the Council of State to prepare a plan of campaign. This meant a year's delay; for Burma could only be invaded during the cold season, which had had already well begun. In the 12th month[259] (December 24th, 1299 - January 22nd, 1300), as soon as he knew that no invasion was imminent, Asaṅkhayā invaded Chêng-mien province, captured Nga Singu and Malè, and only turned back a few miles short of Tagaung. In the 1st month of the 4th year[260] (January 23rd - February 20th, 1300), Mängu Türümish was summoned to Peking to help in the planning. On May 27th,[261] "fifteen post-stages were added, from Yünnan to Mien kingdom." On June 22nd,[262] the Emperor issued a decree declaring Kumārakassapa king and rightful heir to the throne of Mien.

Past masters in deception, the three brothers tried every sleight to avert, or at least delay, the coming invasion. On May 1st, 1300[263] "Mien kingdom sent envoys to submit a white elephant." Impersonation, even, was attempted. On July 28th, 1300,[264] "Che-su, (*i.e.*, Sīhasū), younger brother of A-san-ko-yeh of Mien kingdom, and others, 91 persons, each submitted local products and were coming to Court. The Emperor gave orders that the rest be detained at An-ch'ing"[265] (*read* Chung-ch'ing), "and only Che-su sent to Shang-tu."[266] On September 1st, 1300[267] (four days later), "A-san-chi-ya of Mien kingdom and others, elder and younger brothers, came to the Gate of the Palace, and confessed in person their crime in killing their lord. The Emperor cancelled the expeditionary force to Mien." It was only for a moment, until the fraud was discovered. In the intercalary 8th month[268] (September 14th - October 13th) the Mongol army started from Yünnan Fu.

The Shan brothers, even in their graves, could deceive brilliant scholars. Huber does an injustice, I believe, to the *Yüan-shih*. "It is regarded," he says (p. 662—I translate from

the French), "as the worst-edited of the 24 dynastic histories of China.[269] .... Its editorial committee, under the Ming, has shewn great incapacity to use the documents at its disposal. Thus, according to the *Yüan-shih*, no Chinese army ever besieged Myinzaing. Better still, the Shan usurper Asaṁkhaya becomes own brother of King Kyozwa of Pagan, and in 1300 there was no change of capital nor of dynasty. The *Yüan-shih* chapter on the geography of the Burma frontier is equally worthless ...." On p. 679 he adds: "The official annals of the Yüan" (*i.e.*, the *pên-chi*) "state that in 1300... Kyozwa was killed by his brother Asaṁkhaya, who shortly afterwards came to Peking to excuse himself, was pardoned and received investiture. If... the authors had seen the work I have just translated, we should be entitled to conclude that they have knowingly falsified history. But it is fairer to accuse them only of carelessness and ignorance."

In general the *pên-chi* of the *Yüan-shih* are very full and admirably dated, fuller and better dated, *e.g.*, than those of the *Ming-shih*. In working out over 150 dates, I have found, if I remember aright, only one mistake. So far as Burma is concerned, omissions there certainly are, but there is little sign of carelessness. The geographical section (*ti-li-chih*, ch. 61) is incomplete; and in writing of Lu-ch'uan (see n. 41) it once says 'east' for 'west'; but my frequent references to it here prove that I have found it very useful. The section on *Mien* (ch. 210) is almost the same as Huber's text, except that it entirely omits the last campaign. Everything that is not in Huber follows exactly the facts and dates as stated in the *pên-chi*. I cannot say, but it is quite possible, that the authors knew the story of the last campaign (as given in Huber), and deliberately rejected it as inconsistent with the evidence of the *pên-chi*, *e.g.*, the Emperor on September 1st cancelling the expedition on the one hand, and the expedition starting a few weeks later on the other. Huber, facing the same dilemna, rejects the *pên-chi*, while the brothers (if they but knew it) rejected Huber's text. I have tried to show that

both sources are valid, and can be reconciled, once we realize that the Shan brothers were out to deceive and delude, and often for a while succeeded in doing so.

Huber embroils his case by confusing *Che-su* with Klawcwā. This is impossible. *Che-su*, the name used everywhere, I think, in the *Yüan-shih*, corresponds to Huber's *Sêng-ko-su* (see n.247). The latter is derived from the Sanskritic *Singhasūra*, "the Lion Hero"; Chê-su is from the Pali *Sīhasūra*. In Old Burmese, forms like *Siṅghasū* and *Sīhasū* are interchangeable. The *Yüan-shih* does not deny the siege of Myinzaing, nor the change of capital or dynasty; it merely does not mention them, because, presumably, it found the evidence conflicting. And it nowhere says that Asaṅkhayā was pardoned or received investiture.

The Mongol army was quite a small one, not "the 200,000 soldiers of the *Khan maṅkrī*" whom Asaṅkhayā claims, three years later, that his younger brother Sīhasūra has defeated.[270] Mängü Türümish had asked for 6,000 men. On June 2nd, 1300[271] the Council of State, "considering that Burma was strong and could rely on help from Pa-pai-hsi-fu," thought he needed "at least 10,000." The Emperor sanctioned up to 12,000. Mängü Türümish had asked for two generals to join him, Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh (Sächäur?), the Grand Secretary of Yünnan, and General Liu Tê-Lu. He asked also for the State Counsellor, Kao A-k'ang, native chiftain of Yünnan. The Prince of the Blood, K'uo-k'uo ("the Blue Prince") was placed in nominal command.[272] In the 10th month,[273] November 13th-December 11th, they entered Burma. On January 15th, 1301,[274] they reached Malè, and held a general review.

While the army marched straight on Kyauksè, Kumārakassapa diverged towards Pagan. He is not mentioned in Burmese Chronicles, but a two-faced inscription[275] dated 1302, at the Shwenan-u pagoda, Paunglaung, mentions him under the

name, *Tak tau mu mañkrī*, *Taruk prañ la so Tak tau mū mañkrī*, "the king who came from the land of the Turks and ascended the throne," "King Ascend-the-throne." Some 40 miles above Pagan, on the west bank of the river, he halted to hear a sermon on the way to Nirvāṇa, the *Rathavinīta Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, and to make a dedication of land (afterwards confirmed by the three brothers) "at the royal monastery of the *mahāthera Tipitakavilāsa*, spiritual preceptor of our lord *Siṅkapicañ*." Having thus created a favourable impression, he entered Pagan without difficulty. Later he told the Mongols,[276] "Those who through fear are still on the side of the rebels, are few. Everyone is on my side." But when the Mongols retreated, he went with them.

On January 25th, 1301,[277] the army reached Myinzaing,[278] with its three walled enclosures interlocking. The Shan brothers came out to fight, but were driven back within the walls, where they maintained a stout defence. Mängü Türümish and Liu Tê-lu undertook the east and north sides, Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh and Kao A-k'ang, the more open west side. They could spare no troops to besiege the south until later, when they mustered 2000 Pai-i (Northern Shans), who were on the lines of communication. The fighting was severe. The defenders mounted mechanical catapults on the walls. To protect themselves, the Taruk had to heap an earth-rampart all round the city. Between February 10th and March 10th,[279] the fortified outpost called "the Stone Mountain" was captured, The grand assault on February 28th[280] was a failure, the Taruk losing over 500 men, killed by arrowshot or crushed beneath the blocks of stone and timber that rained down from the walls. There was little more fighting, but, for the defence there was a real danger of starvation.

The Shan brothers fell back on their old incomparable expedient. On March 12th[281] Asaṅkhayā sent out men who shouted from afar, "We are not rebels. We are loyal

subjects of your Emperor .... We never killed the king. He committed suicide by poison. We are innocent men. We are Mongols. Please accept our submission." Negotiations and secret corruption followed and the hot weather helped to complete the rout. Between April 6th and 8th,[282] the Taruk began their retreat. On April 14th[283] Nga Singu was reached, and a vain attempt was made to rally the routed forces and return. The same day, by elephant, Kumārakassapa's mother arrived and said, "The rebels held me captive in Myinzaing. I have only just managed to escape. If you had only waited five more days, the rebels would have been bound to surrender. What a pity you left so soon!" The Taruk returned to China by the Mêng Lai Road.[284] They had to fight their way through 'the Gold Teeth', *i.e.*, the Pai-i, during the following autumn. Under the date of September 10th, 1301,[285] we read, "The Emperor sent Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh, etc., to take troops and invade Gold Teeth and other kingdoms. At the time when the army of the Mien expedition was returning, they were intercepted by the Gold Teeth, and many of the soldiers killed fighting."

On the same day, September 10th,[286] the Court of Enquiry appointed by the Emperor reported that every single person of importance, from Prince K'uo-K'uo downwards, had been bribed. "Having let themselves be corrupted, the Commanders-in-Chief had no longer any authority over their subordinates ...."

Their triumph accomplished, Burma and the Shan brothers were tactful and assiduous in softening the blow. On July 27th, 1301,[287] "The king of Mien sent envoys to offer as tribute nine tame elephants." On September 16th,[288] "I-la-fu-shan, *wan-hu* of Chêng-mien, and others submitted six tame elephants." On November 4th,[289] "The king of Mien sent envoys to Court with tribute." The final triumph, after the failure of the Pa-pai-hsi-fu expedition (see *infra*), came eighteen months later. On April 4th, 1303,[290] "the Emperor abolished

Chêng-mien Province split off from Yünnan." On May 25th,[291] "the 14,000 men of the army returned from Chêng-mien were sent back, each man to his post."

Tribute continued to be submitted. On October 6th, 1303,[292] "the king of Mien sent envoys to offer as tribute four tame elephants." Friendly relations were even established under the new Emperor, Wu Tsung. On February, 1st, 1308.[293] "Mien kingdom submitted six tame elephants." On May 31st,[294] again, "Mien kingdom submitted six tame elephants." On August 3rd,[295] "the Emperor appointed Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chien," probably a Tibetan, "as Vice-President of the Board of Rites, and To-êrh-chih as Vice-President of the Board of War, and sent them to Mien kingdom." At this time, Sīhasū, the youngest of the Shan brothers, was busy choosing a site for his new capital near the junction of the rivers. Relations continued to be good under the next Emperor, Jên Tsung. On December 27th, 1312,[296] "the lord of Mien kingdom sent his son-in-law, together with Ts'ên-fu, chieftain of the Pu-nung *Man* of Yünnan, to come to Court." On July 31st, 1315,[297] "the lord of Mien kingdom sent his son, T'o-la-ho, and others to come and offer tribute of local products." On July 20th, 1319,[298] "Chao Ch'in-sa of Mien kingdom brought local products and entered the Presence."

15

The resistance of the Northern Thai to Mongol aggression appears to have been just as brave, and just as victorious, as that of the Shan brothers. But the harvest was not reaped so neatly, and theirs continued for long to be a troubled border. Not having the *Chao-pu-tsung-lu* text (see *supra*, n. 190), the most I can do for the present is to translate *seriatim* relevant extracts from the *pên-chi* of the *Yüan-shih*, from 1300 A.D. onwards:

(i) February 1st, 1301.[299] – "The Emperor sent Liu Shên, Ho-la-tai and Chêng Yu, at the head of an army of 20,000 men, to invade Pa-pai-hsi-fu. As usual, he sent orders to Yünnan province to give 5 horses per 10 men of each army, and more, if this was not enough."

(ii) February 18th, 1301.[300] – "For the expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu, the Emperor gave paper money reckoned altogether at over 92,000 'shoes' (*ting*)."

(iii) March 27th, 1301.[301] – "For the expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu, the Emperor set up two *wan-hu-fu*" (*lit.* offices controlling ten thousand households), "and four posts of *wan-hu*. He despatched criminals of Ssŭch'uan and Yünnan to follow the army."

(iv) May 21st, 1301.[302] – "The Emperor moved the Yünnan army to invade Pa-pai-hsi-fu."

(v) July 4th, 1301.[303] – "The Emperor ordered that persons of Yünnan province who volunteered to go on expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu, should be given, each man, 60 strings of cowries."

(vi) August 20th, 1301.[304] – "The Emperor commanded Yünnan province to divide up the Mongol archers to go on expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu."

(vii) September 10th, 1301.[305] – ". . . again, the various southern barbarians on the borders of Pa-pai-hsi-fu have agreed among themselves not to pay taxes and imposts; and they have robbed and killed the government officials. Therefore all are to be attacked."

(viii) March 21st, 1302.[306] – "The Emperor dismissed from office the *yu-ch'êng* for the expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu, Liu Shên, and other officials, and took from them their tallies, seals and post-station coupons."

(ix) April 4th, 1303.[307] – "On account of the ruin of the army invading Pa-pai-hsi-fu, the Emperor put to death Liu Shên, and sentenced to flogging Ho-la-tai and Chêng Yu."

(x) December 3rd, 1309.[308] – "Yünnan province stated that Pa-pai-hsi-fu, Great Ch'ê-li and Little Ch'ê-li were making a disturbance at Ku-pao of Wei-yüan *chou*, and had snatched and occupied Mu-lo *tien*; the Emperor had given orders to send the *yu-ch'êng* of the province, Suan-chih-êrh-wei, to go and summon and notify them, and, as usual, had ordered 1500 men of the army of Wei-ch'u *tao* to guard and escort him within their frontier; but Suan-chih-êrh-wei had accepted bribes from Ku-pao (amounting to) 3 'shoes' each of gold and silver; after which, he advanced his force and raided and attacked Ku-pao; but bows and cross-bows were improperly used, and so he was defeated and returned. Not only had he lost the day, but also he had injured our men. 'Let Your Majesty decide!' The Emperor replied 'It is a big matter. We must be quick and select envoys once more to bear a letter with the imperial seal, and go and summon and notify them. As for Suan-chih-êrh-wei, (his life) is pardond, but he must be rigorously tried.'"

(xi) February 22nd, 1310.[309] – "The Emperor sent down orders to summon and notify Great Ch'ê-li and Little Ch'ê-li."

(xii) February 23rd, 1310.[310] – "The Emperor gave orders to notify Pa-pai-hsi-fu, and sent the *yu-ch'êng* of Yünnan province, Suan-chih-êrh-wei, to summon and comfort them."

(xiii) December 6th, 1310.[311] – "The ministers of the Central Government reported .., 'Moreover we are just moving troops to punish Pa-pai-hsi-fu. Our military strength is dispersed and exhausted. Now we propose that the Mongol troops be given one horse each, and the Chinese troops two

horses per ten men. We suggest giving these directly. We request the Emperor to bestow 30,000 'shoes' of paper-money for the purpose.'"

(xiv) May 20th, 1311.[312] — "The southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, together with those of Great and Little Ch'ê-li, raided the frontier. The Emperor ordered the Prince of Yünnan and the *yu-ch'êng* A-hu-t'ai to take troops and punish them."

(xv) March 21st, 1312.[313] — "Pa-pai-hsi-fu came and offered as tribute two tame elephants."

(xvi) September 29th, 1312.[314] — "The Emperor sent orders that the *yu-ch'êng* of Yünnan province, A-hu-t'ai, etc., should lead Mongol troops and follow the Prince of Yünnan and punish the southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu."

(xvii) October 6th, 1312.[315] — "The Emperor cancelled the expedition against the southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, and those of Great and Little Ch'ê-li. He sent a letter with the imperial seal to summon and notify them."

(xviii) October 9th, 1312.[316] — "The southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu and Great and Little Ch'ê-li offered as tribute tame elephants and local products.

(xix) November 1st, 1312.[317] — "The *yu-ch'êng* of Yünnan province, Suan-chih-êrh-wei, was found guilty. The spiritual teacher of the realm (*kuo-shih*), Shuo-ssŭ-chi-wa-chieh-êrh, memorialized requesting the Emperor to pardon him. The Emperor reproached him saying, 'A Buddhist monk should study the writings of the Buddha. Is it proper for him to interfere in state affairs?'"

(xx) November 25th, 1315.[318] — "The southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu sent envoys to offer as tribute two tame elephants. The Emperor bestowed silks on them."

(xxi) January 24th, 1320.[319] – "The Emperor economized 124 ranks of officials, including sub-prefects and subordinate officials of Ta-li of Yünnan, Great and Little Ch'ê-li, and other places, and various officials employed as Confucianist teachers and Mongol instructors."

(xxii) January 24th, 1324.[320] – "Yü Mêng of Ch'ê-li of Yünnan made a raid. The Emperor gave orders to summon and notify him."

(xxiii) January 26th, 1324.[321] – "The Hua-chiao ('Flowery Leg') southern barbarians of Yünnan made a raid. The Emperor gave orders to summon and notify them."

(xxiv) September 18th, 1324.[322] – "The Emperor sent envoys to notify Great Ch'ê-li and Little Ch'ê-li of Yünnan."

(xxv) November 3rd, 1324.[323] – "The Ch'ê-li southern barbarians of Yünnan made raids. The Emperor sent Wa-êrh-to bearing an imperial decree to summon and notify them. Ni-êrh, son of their chief Sai-sai, and Tiao Ling, son of Ying-kou-mu, came out and submitted."

(xxvi) June 14th, 1325.[324] – "T'ao La-mêng of Ch'ê-li and the Great A-ai southern barbarians, 10,000 soldiers riding on elephants, attacked and captured 14 stockades including To-la...."

(xxvii) August 9th, 1325.[325] – "The southern barbarians of Great and Little Ch'ê-li came and offered tame elephants."

(xxviii) August 15th, 1325.[326] – "The Emperor sent envoys bearing imperial orders separately to...; to the native official of Chên-k'ang Road, Ni Nang; and to the native official of Mou-chan (*or* nien) Road, Sai Ch'iu-lo, ordering them to come out and submit...."

(xxix) August 20th, 1325.[327] – "The Emperor set up Ch'ê-li military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu*, and appointed the native

Han Sai as *tsung-kuan* (Governor), wearing at the waist a gold Tiger Tally."

(xxx) June 11th, 1326.[328] – "Chao Nan-tao, southern barbarian of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, sent his son, Chao Zan-t'ing, to offer local products and come to Court."

(xxxi) August 15th, 1326.[329] – "Chao Nan-t'ung, southern barbarian of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, sent envoys to come and offer as tribute tame elephants and local products."

(xxxii) October 18th, 1326.[330] – "The Emperor bestowed on the southern barbarian officials of Great Ch'ê-li who had recently submitted, 75 persons, fur garments, caps, boots and clothes."

(xxxiii) October 23rd, 1326.[331] – "Ai P'ei, chieftain of T'u-la stockade of Wei-ch'u Road of Yünnan province; A-wu, son of A-chih-lung, chief of Ching-tung stockade; Ni Tao, younger brother of the lord of Great A-ai stockade; Ai Pu-li, chief of Mu-lo stockade; A-li, native official of Mang-shih Road; T'o-chin-k'o, younger brother of Ni Nang, native official of Chên-chiang Road; Ch'iu-lo, native official of Mu-t'ieh Road; Ai Yung, nephew of Chao Ai of Great Ch'ê-li; and Wu Chung, native official of Mêng Lung *tien* – all together submitted local products and came to offer tribute. The Emperor took Chao Ai's land and set up one Mu-to Road, with one Mu-lai *chou* and three *tien* (native districts). He took Wu Chung's land and set up one Mêng Lung Road with one *tien*. He took Ai P'ei's land and set up one *tien* there. At the same time he conferred on them gold tallies and copper seals, and bestowed the usual silks, saddles and bridles according to their rank."

(xxxiv) March 14th, 1327.[332] – "Chao Nan-t'ung, chief of the southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, came and offered as tribute local products."

(xxxv) August 9th, 1327.[333] — "Sai Ch'iu-lo, native official of Mou-chan (*or* -nien) Road, summoned and notified the southern barbarian of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, Chao San-chin, to come and submit. San-ch'ieh-chê, native official of Yin-sha-lo ('Perimeter of Silver Sand'), killed Sai Ch'iu-lo. The Emperor ordered the Prince of Yünnan to send persons to notify them."

(xxxvi) November 13th, 1327.[334] — "The southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu requested the officials to garrison and set up Meng Ch'ing (as a) *hsüan-fu-ssŭ* and *tu-yüan-hsuai-fu* (Comfortership and office of General Commander), with two *fu*, Mu-an and Mêng Chieh, in their land. The Emperor appointed the sub-prefect and acting comforter of Wu-sa, Ni-Ch'u-kung, and the native official Chao Nan-t'ung as Joint Comforters and General Commanders; and the *chao yü jên* ('summoner'), Mi-tê, as sub-prefect and acting Comforter; and Chao San-chin, son of the Assistant General Commander (Chao) Nan-t'ung, as prefect of Mu-an *fu*; and his nephew, Hun P'ên, as prefect of Mêng Chieh *fu*. The Emperor made the normal bestowals paper-money and silks, on each according to his rank."

(xxxvii) June 15th, 1328.[335] "The southern barbarian of Pa-pai-hsi-fu sent his son, Ai Chao, to offer as tribute tame elephants."

(xxxviii) October 15th, 1328.[336] "The native official of Mêng Ting Road of Yünnan came and offered as tribute local products."

(xxxix) November 20th, 1328.[337] "The native official of Yin-lo *tien* of Yünnan, Ai Tsan etc., came and offered tribute of local products."

(xl) November 24th, 1328.[338] — "The native official of Ch'ê-li Road of Yünnan, Tiao Sai, etc., came and offered tribute of local products."

(xli) December 16th, 1328.[339] – "Chao Ai, envoy of Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom; Ni Fang, etc., native official of Wei-ch'u Road of Yünnan; and Pi-yeh-ku etc., native official of 'the Ninety-Nine Stockades'; each brought local products and came to offer tribute."

(xlii) March 14th, 1329.[340] – "A-san-mu, native official of Mêng T'ung (and) Mêng Suan *tien* (districts) of Yünnan province; Ai Fang, native official of K'ai-nan; Pa-pai-hsi-fu, Gold Teeth, 'the Ninety Nine Caves', and Yin-sha-lo *tien*; all came and offered as tribute local products."

(xliii) March 28th, 1329.[341] – "The Emperor set up the *hsüan-wei ssŭ* (Comfortership) and *tu-yüan-shuai-fu* (Office of General Commander) of Yin-sha-lo *tien* and other places."

(xliv) December 15th, 1329.[342] – "The Emperor once again set up the military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu* (office of Governor) of Mêng Ting Road."

(xlv) June 20th, 1331.[343] – "Mêng Ting Road and Mêng Yüan Road were both made military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu*, their rank being 3rd grade. Chê-hsien, Mêng Ch'ing *tien*, Yin-sha-lo and other *tien*, were all made into military and civil *fu*. their rank being 4th grade. Mêng Ping, Mêng Kuang, Chê-yang and other *tien* were all created military and civil *chang-kuan-ssŭ*, their rank being 5th grade."

(xlvi) January 26th, 1342.[344] –"Han Sai-tao etc., of Ch'ê-li of Yünnan revolted. The Emperor gave orders to the *p'ing-chang-chêng-shih* (Grand Secretary) of Yünnan province, T'o-t'o-mu-êrh, to punish and pacify them."

(xlvii) May 13th, 1342.[345] – "The Emperor abolished Mêng Ch'ing *hsüan-wei-ssŭ* of Yünnan."

(xlviii) February 1st, 1347.[346] –"The Emperor set *up* again the *hsüan-wei-ssŭ* of Pa-pai, and appointed the native official Han Pu to inherit his father's rank."

(xlix) February 27th, 1347.[347] — "Lao Ya and other southern barbarians of Yünnan came to submit. The Emperor set up the military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu* (Governor's Office) of Kêng-tung Road."

These are all of the extracts I have found in the *pên-chi* of the *Yüan-shih* that are concerned with the border of Siam. There is more about the Pai-i of the north, and also about Mien and Mu-pang. But they relate rather the story of the rise of 'the Maw Shans', who sacked the two capitals of Central Burma, Sagaing (*Cackuiṅ*) and Pinya (*Paṅya*) in 1364, and remained a menace to the Chinese of the Ming dynasty for nearly a century. This story must necessarily be made the subject of as eparate study. Further searches throughout the whole of the *Yüan-shih* will very probably yield additional fruits. I hope, I shall be able to present them in the pages of a future issue of this *Journal*.

NOTES

THE EARLY SYĀM IN BURMA'S HISTORY

1. For Northern Thailand (*Yonaka*), excluding Eastern, Professor Coedès has listed 57 inscriptions (94 faces) on pp. 25-33 of his *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, Part I, *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya* (Bangkok 1924), dating from the 14th to the 16th centuries. In East Burma about 10 faces in Old Thai have been found at various sites in the Kengtung plain. And recently, Professor Sören Egerod of Copenhagen, on a brief visit to Möng Lwe and Möng yang (50-60 miles north of Kengtung), discovered 14 faces in Old Thai, and heard of others which he had no time or materials to stamp. I cannot estimate the number of Old Thai inscriptions in Laos (Luang Phrabang, Vieng Chan, etc.); but those collected by the Mission Pavie, Fournereau, Lunet de Lajonquière, etc., suggest that it may be considerable. I would humbly suggest that it would be a good thing if a small joint committee of scholars of all three countries could visit the sites of these inscriptions, collect and share information, and arrange for their scientific editing under the auspices, if possible, of the three Governments.

2. In this paper I use *Thai* for the Siamese proper, and *Dai* for the larger unit, linguistic if not racial, stretching from Ssŭch'uan southwards and Assam eastwards. For a note on the word, see Henri Maspero, *BEFOE* t. XI, 1911, p, 153, n. 1.

3. *États hindouisés*, p. 320.

4. Pl. II 112^{6}, dated 482 *s*. Note that the modern Burmese spelling of 'Shan' is *Rham*:

5. Pl.II 138^{18}, 603 *s*. (*saṁbyaṅ syaṁ*).

6. Pl.II 113^{14}, 507 *s*. (*uiḥ syaṁ pantyāḥ*).

7. Pl.IV 391^{22}, 661 *s*. (*yan saṅ ṅā syaṁ*).

8. Pl.IV 392[19], 662 *s.* (*pangwat ñā syaṁ*).

9. Pl.I[13], 65b[3], 87[10], 92[17]; II 143a[9,21], 143b[7,17], 144[9], 148b[3], (*Khantī Poñloṅ*), 153b[10], 183a[2], 186[3]; III 239[2,8,10], 282[3], 283[14]. These references to *Khantī* range in date from 554 to 655 *s.* (1192-1293 A.D.).

10. The *Khaṁtī* mentioned after *Muiwkoṅ* (Mogaung) and *Muiṅ Caṅ* (Maing Zin) in the Kyauksè Hill inscription (*List* 1084a[5], 955 *s.*), is doubtless Singkaling Khamti. The recently discovered Yan-aung-myin pagoda inscription at Thèmaunggan, south of Pinya (Obverse, line 8, 762 *s.*), claims that in 1400 A.D. the rule of the king extended beyond the *Kandu* (Kadu) and the *Poñloṅ amrī yok* ("Palaungs who grow tails"), to the "heretic kingdoms of the Naked Nagas on the borders of *Khaṁtī Khun kyuiw* (?), as far as the heretic kingdom called *Timmasàla* where they kill people and turn into spirits," *i.e.*, the Dimasa Kacharis of Upper Assam.

11. 白衣 *Pai-²-i¹*. See *Y.S.* ch. 10 (15th year of *chih-yüan*, 4th month, *ting ch'ou* day). According to the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* ch. 222 B (f. 1 v[0]), when the Nan-chao invasion of Tongking began (in 854 according to the *Man-shu*), the invaders styled themselves 白衣沒命軍 *Pai-i Mo-ming-chün* "the White Clothes Death-devoted Army." The invaders were probably, in part, Hsi-yüan or Nung troops (see n.137 *infra*), speaking a Dai language on the Kuangsi-Tongking border. One wonders if the fame of these heroes, who captured Hanoi in 863, may have led to the adoption of the name by the Dai (Shans) of the Burma frontier. The name 'White Clothes' occurs again on the Yünnan-Tongking border in the *Y.S.* ch. 15, under date 25th year of *chih-yüan*, 4th month, *kuei wei* day, That is, May 30th, 1288 A.D., when 愛魯 Ai-lu reports: "Since we left 中慶 Chung-Ch'ing (Yünnan Fu), on our way through the 羅羅 Lo-lo and 白衣 Pai-i to enter 交趾 Chiao-Chih (Tongking), we have fought, coming and going, 38 battles, and cut off innumerable heads." But at *Y.S.* ch. 61, at 蒙自 Mêng-tzŭ in the S.E. of

Yünnan, on the hill which gives it its name, "there is an old city built by the 白夷 Pai-i ('White Barbarians')."

12. 白夷 *Pai*^{2}-*i*^{1}. See *Y.S.* ch. 14 (24th year of *chih yüan*, 8th month, *i-ch'ou* day). So also at ch. 61 ('Gold Teeth') under date 1254 A.D. (4th year of Hsien Tsung), etc.

13. 百夷傳 *Pai*^{3}-*i*^{2}-*chuan*^{4}, of 李思聰 Li Ssŭ-ts'ung and/or 錢古訓 Ch'ien Ku-hsün (1 ch. Published by Liu I-chêng, Kuo-hsüeh-t'u-shu-kuan, 1929). See *Ming-shih* ch. 97, f. 29v^{0} (Pai-na ed.).

14. 雲龍州 Yün-lung *chou*. Lat. 25° 54', Long. 99° 36' (Playfair 7810). See *Y.S.* ch. 29 (2nd year of *t'ai-ting*, 8th Month, *hsin-mao* day). "Yün-lung 甸 *tien* military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.

15. 孟乃甸 Mêng Nai *tien*. See *Y.S.* ch. 210, section on *mien*, and the anonymous text translated by Huber, and his note (P. 669, n. 1). Old Mêng Nai was north of Mêng Mi (Möng Mit): see *TSFYCY* ch. 119, P. 4752; *Tien-hsi* I, 2, f. 59v^{0}.

16. *Y.S.* ch. 4 (*jên-tzŭ*, 2nd year of Hsien Tsung, 12th month, *ping-ch'ên* day). 大理 Ta-li. 段 Tuan. 高 Kao.

17. 兀良合台 Wu-liang-ho-t'ai. See the biography of him and his father, 速不台 Su-pu-t'ai, in *Y.S.* ch. 121.

18. *États hindouisés*, p. 318: "On parle parfois de 'l'invasion des T'ais' conséquence de 'la poussée mongole' du XIIIe siècle. En réalité, il s'est agi plutôt d'une infiltration lente, et sans doute fort ancienne...."

19. Pl.III 231b^{1}, 590*s*.

20. Pl.III 231b^{6} (607*s*.), where Manorājā is judging a suit at Amyint on the Chindwin. He may well be the *Samanta Koṅcaṅ* who was witness to a Pagan dedication in 1237 (Pl. I 100b^{24}, 599*s*.). See also Pl. II 158^{20} (607*s*.); III 248^{11} (598*s*.).

21. Pl.I 19^{9} *Takoṅ, a ṄChoṅ Khyaṁ, Uchotika* (?)--558*s*.) In

1292 the corresponding northern boundary claimed was *Ṅa Choṅ-tiwā* (Pl.III 276a^2, 654s.).

22. 信苴日 Hsin-chü-jih. See his biography in *Y.S.* ch. 166.

23. 金齒 Chin-ch'ih. Called by Huber (after Persian and Marco Polo) Zardandan (*BEFEO* IV, p. 430) or Zerdandan (*ibid.*, IX, p. 665), *i.e.*, 'Gold Teeth'.

24. 蠻書 *Man-shu* of 樊綽 Fan Ch'o ch, 4, f. 9r^0. 永昌 Yung-ch'ang. 開南 K'ai-nan.

25. *Ibid.* ch. 4, f. 6 r^0–v^0, 7v^0–8v^0, 9v^0–10r^0, etc.

26. Ch. 61. See especially the final pages, from "Gold Teeth Comfortership" (宣撫司 *hsüan-fu-ssŭ*) onwards.

27. 撲 *P'o.*—*Hsin-chü-jih* and the Tuan ruling family of Nan-chao were of the P'o tribe. Another name for them was 黑爨 Hei Ts'uan, "Black Ts'uan". 撲夷 P'o-i is said to be a variant of Pai-i, *i.e.*, Shans. See J. Siguret, *Territoires et Populations des Confins du Yunnan*, Vol. I, p. 137.

28. 峨昌 *O-ch'ang*. Called 阿昌 A-ch'ang today, and in Huber's text: see his note on p. 667. Linguistically, they are members of the Burma Group, stragglers of the proto-Burman migration, still mostly on the China side of the frontier, south of the Ta-p'ing. They are now Buddhist, and much influenced by the Shans who live around them.

29. 驃 *P'iao.*—The later P'iao or Pyū capital, probably Halingyi south of Shwebo, was sacked by Nan-chao in 832 A.D., and 3000 of its people transported to colonize 柘東 Chê-tung (Yünnan Fu): see *Man-shu* ch. 10, f. 2r^0.—Possibly some escaped en route, and settled either on the north bank of the Ta-p'ing in China (thenceforth known to the Chinese as 驃甸 P'iao-tien, "Pyu district"), or on the south bank (thenceforth called 驃睒 *P'iao-shan*, in P'ing-mien Road). See Huber's note on p. 666. "P'iao-tien military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.

30. 繲 *Hsieh.*—Possibly for 僕繲 P'u Hsieh, the original inhabitants of 三睒 San-t'an (-lan), the old name for 麗江

Li-chiang Fu in N.W. Yünnan. The general meaning might be Mo-so. See J.F. Rock, *The Ancient Na-khi kingdom of Southwest China*, pp.87 n. 2, 180-1 n. 6.

31. 渠羅 *Ch'ü-lo.*—Possibly the 曲蠟 (Huber's text 曲臘) Ch'ü-la, whose submission Nâṣir ed-Dîn received in Nov. 1277 on his expedition to 江頭 Chiang-t'ou (Kaungzin). See *Y.S.* ch. 10 (16th year of *chih-yüan*, 6th month, *kuei-ssŭ* day = July 27th, 1279).

32. 比蘇 *Pi-su.*—According to the *Hsü-han-chih*, Pi-su was one of the six districts of the west region of 益州 I-chou (E. Yünnan) which were taken over by Yung-ch'ang, when that commandery was formed in 69 A.D. See *JBRS*, Vol. XIV, Part II (Aug. 1924), p. 114. According to J.F. Rock (*op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 13) Pi-su was in modern 雲龍 Yün-lung district.

33. Cf. *Y.S.* ch. 4 (2nd. year of *chung-t'ung*, 8th month, *mou-hsü* day *i.e.*, Sept. 4th, 1261): "The Emperor appointed 賀天爵 Ho T'ien-chio as 安撫使 *an-fu-shih* of Gold Teeth and other kingdoms, with 忽林伯 Hu-lin-po to assist him." Ho T'ienchio was probably Chinese. In 1275 he was still *an-fu-shih* of Chien-ning Road on the Burma border. His important report of that year is translated *infra*.

34. A different date is given in ch. 8—April 8th, 1273 (10th year of *chih-yüan*, 3rd month, *jên-shên* day): "The Emperor divided Gold Teeth kingdom into two Roads (路 *lu*)."

35. 建寧路 *Chien-ning Road* (No description given). 鎮康路 *Chên-k'ang Road.* "South of 柔遠 Jou-yüan Road, and west of the 蘭江 Lan-*chiang*", *i.e.* Lan-ts'ang *chiang*, the Mekong. "The land is called 石睒 Shih-*shan.*" 睒 *shan*, written 睒 *t'an* in my text of the *Man-shu* (863 A.D.), was the Nan-chao word for river-valley (see *Man-shu* ch. 8, f. 3v^0).

36. 柔遠路 *Jou-yüan Road.* "West of 大理 Ta-li, and south of 永昌 Yung-ch'ang. The land is called 潞江 Lu-chiang, or 普坪睑 P'u-p'ing *chien*, or 申睑獎寨 the P'o stockade of Shên-

chien, or 烏摩坪 Wu-mo-p'ing. The P'o barbarians are what the 通典 *T'ung-tien* calls the 黑爨 Hei (Black) Ts'uan. At the beginning of the *chung-t'ung* period (1260-3 A.D.), the chieftain of the P'o, 阿八思 A-pa-ssŭ, came to Court" (*Y.S.* ch. 61). *P'ing* = plain. As for 睑 *chien*—"When the 蒙 (Mêng family" (the rulers of Nan-chao) "founded their realm, there were ten *chien*. In the barbarian language, *chien* is the same as 州 *chou*", *i.e.*, prefecture (*Y.S.* ch. 61). The 睑 *chien* of *Y.S.* is probably the same as the 睑 *t'an* of my text of the *Man-shu*, (see ch. 6, "the Six *t'an*"). According to *TSFYCY* ch. 118, pp. 4723-4, "in the 23rd year of *hung-wu* (1390 A.D.), Jou-yüan *fu* was changed into 潞江 Lu-chiang *chang-kuan-ssŭ*". In 1411 it was raised to be an *an-fu-ssŭ* (Comfortership). Lu-chiang is a corruption of the old 怒江 Nu-*chiang*, *i.e.*, the Salween. The *T'ung-tien*, first of the Nine *T'ung* or encyclo, paedias, was the work of 杜佑 Tu Yu, in 201 *chüan*, *c.* 800 A.D.

37. 黑爨 Hei P'o ("Black P'o"). For the P'o, see n. 27 *supra*

38. H.R. Davies, *Yün-nan: the Link between India and the Yang-tze*, Cambridge University Press, 1909.

39. 茫施路 *Mang-shih Road*. "South of Jou-yüan Road, and west of the 瀘江 Lu-*chiang*. The land is called 怒謀 Nu-mou, or 大枯睑 Great Ku-*shan*, or 小 Small Ku-*shan*. It is what the T'ang histories call the 茫施蠻 Mang-shih Southern barbarians." (*Y.S.* ch. 61). Written 芒市 Mang-shih in Ming texts. Both the *Ming-shih* (ch. 46) and *TSFYCY* (ch. 119, pp. 4753-4) give "the river of 麓川 Lu-ch'uan" as its western boundary.

40. 鎮西路 *Chên-hsi Road*. "Due west of Jou-yüan Road. To the east, it is parted from it by Lu-ch'uan. The land is called 千賴睑 Yü-lai *shan* or 渠潤睑 Ch'ü-lan *shan*. The 白夷蠻 Pai-i *Man* ('White Barbarians') inhabit it" (*Y.S.* ch. 61). According to the *Ming-shih* (ch. 46) and *TSFYCY* (ch. 119, p. 4743), it is the 干崖 Kan-yai *hsüan-fu-ssŭ* (Comfortership) of the Ming dynasty, *i.e.*, the Kan-ai of modern maps.

41. 麓川路 *Lu-ch'uan Road.* "It is to the east of Mang-shih Road" (I believe 'east' is here a mistake for 'west'). "The land is called 大布苾 Great Pu-mang, or 睒頭附賽 Fu-sai at the head of the *shan*, or 睒中禪吉 Tan-chi at the middle of the *shan*, or 睒尾福祿培 Fu-lu-p'ei at the tail of the *shan*. All are inhabited by Pai-i" (*Y.S.* ch. 61).

42. 平緬路 *P'ing-mien Road.* "To the north it is near Jou-yüan Road. The land is called 驃孩 P'iao-*shan*, or 羅必四庄 Lo-pi-ssŭ-chuang ('the Four Farms of Lo-pi'), or 小沙摩弄 Small Sha-mo-lung, or 驃睒頭 P'iao-*shan* Head. The Pai-i inhabit it" (*Y.S.* ch. 61). In the *Ming-shih* (ch. 314, section on Lu-ch'uan, 1442 campaign of 王驥 Wang Chi), one finds 羅卜思莊 Lo-pu-ssŭ-chuang and 木籠 Mu-lung. In 1441, according to the *Ming-shih* (ch. 46), Lu-ch'uan and P'ing-mien were cancelled, and in 1444 they merged in 隴川 Lung-ch'uan *hsüan-fu-ssŭ* headquarters 隴把 Lung-pa: "the P'ing-mien Road of the Yüan was north-east of Lung-pa. The Lu-ch'uan Road of the Yüan was south of Lung-pa."

43. See *Ming-shih*, ch. 314, Section on *Lu-ch'uan*: "Lu-ch'uan, and P'ing-mien are conterminous." *Pai-i-chuan* f.2v^0: "The land of Lu-ch'uan, where 思倫發 Ssŭ Lun-fa resides, is called 者闌 Chê-lan, which in Chinese means 'the capital'." For Sèlan, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part I, vol. I, pp. 195-6.

44. The source of confusion probably lies in the name 麓川 "the Lu river-valley". The name for the Salween in T'ang times, 怒江 Nu-*chiang*, got mispronounced as Lu *chiang*, variously written in Yüan texts. In the very passage we are considering, it is written 澁 Lu *chiang* (under Jou-Yüan) and 瀘 Lu *chiang* (under Mang-shih). Perhaps it was thought that 麓 Lu was yet another alternative. Note that 瀘 Lu in the *Man-shu* (ch. 2, f. 3r^0) meant the Upper Yang-tzŭ.

45. 南睒 *Nan-shan.* Described after the Six Roads (*Y.S.* ch.61): "North-west of Chên-hsi Road. The land includes 阿賽睒

A-sia *shan* and 干真陵 Wu-chên *shan*. It is inhabited by Pai-i and 峨昌 O-ch'ang." For the latter, see n. 28 *supra*.

46. (乞解 Haber 台) 脫因 Ch'i-tai (t'ai)-t'o-yin. See *Y.S.* ch. 210 Section on *Mien* (8th year of *chih-yüan*). Huber's text, p. 665.

47. *Ibid.* (10th year), The exact date is given in *Y.S.* ch. 8 (2nd. month, *ping-shĕn* day = March 3rd, 1273):— "The Emperor appointed 勘馬剌失里 K'an-ma-la-shih-li (Kamala Śrī), 乞帶脫因 Ch'i-tai-t'o-yin, and 劉源 Liu Yüan as ambassadors to Mien kingdom, to summon (the king) to send a son or younger brother and minister near the throne, to come to Court." The section on *Mien*, ch. 210, gives the text of the imperial letter.

48. *Y.S.* ch. 210, Section on *mien* (12th year, 4th month, or April 28th - May 26th, 1275). Huber's text (pp. 665-6) dates the report 2nd month (Feb. 27th - March 28th, 1275), and only gives the latter part, about the three routes into Burma. For these, see Huber's full note on pp.665-6.

49. 阿郭 A-kuo.

50. 阿必 A-pi.

51. 阿的八 A-ti-pa.

52. 天部馬 T'ien-up-ma (the Nam Hkam route).

53. 阿提犯 A-t'i-fan.

54. *Y.S.* ch. 7 (7th year of *chih-yüan*, 12th month, *ting-wei* day). 阿匿福勒丁阿匿朶 A-ni Fu-lo-ting (and) A-ni Chao.

55. *Y.S.* ch. 210, Section on *Mien*; Huber's text, p. 666. 金齒干額總管阿禾 "A-ho, *sung-kuan* of Kan-ê of Gold Teeth.". Kan-ê, in Ming texts 干崖 Kan-yai, is modern Kan-ai. The first character is often miswritten 千 Ch'ien.

56. 蒲 P'u.-See Mr. 張劳 Chang Hu's interesting remarks translated into French by J. Siguret, *op. cit.*, t. II, P. 69. J.R. Rock (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p.5 n.2), probably quoting the *Yün-nan-t'ung-*

chih (ch. 189), identifies the 蒲 P'u with the 濮 P'u (or 濮), whom Tsin and perhaps Later Han texts place on the Burma border S.W. of Yung-ch'ang. This is phonetically impossible. The latter character-group had a final *-k*; the former an open vowel (see B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica*, 102 n. 1211). The latter Buok tribes, if they were akin to the 撲 P'u of the *Man-shu* (ch. 4, f. 6r0-v0), were probably Tibeto-Burman, if not proto-Burmese. On Jan. 9th 1328 (4th year of *tai tuy*, 11th month, *hsin-mao* day), when the 蒲 P'u submitted, the Emperor set up 順寧 Shun-ning fu (S.of Ta-li W. of the Mekong): see *Y.S.* ch 30

57. *Y.S.* ch. 210, Section on *Mien*; Huber's text, p. 667. 忽都 Hu-tu (Qudu ?) was Mongol Commander of Ta-li Road. Hsin-chü-jih (*supra*, n. 22) was governor (*tsung-kuan*) of Ta-li Road. 脫羅脫孩 T'o-lo-t'o-hai, like Hu-tu, was a 千戶 *ch'ienhu* (Commander of a Thousand Households).

58. *Y.S.* ch. 210, Section on *Mien*. Huber's text (pp.666-8) closely corresponds.

59. 南甸 Nan-tien. Old name 南宋甸 Nan-sung-*tien*. 襄宋 Nang-sung is also mentioned (*TSFYCY*, ch. 119, p. 4742). Nan-tien *fu* (military and civil) is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.

60. Pl. III 277, lines 1-6:-"In 640*s*. (1278 A.D.), Vaiśākha year, the great minister called Īntapacrā, since there was no theras, monastery at the site of the Venerable Mahākassapa, made plans that there should be one. Before building the monastery, he built the enclosure-wall; and the enclosure-wall was not yet complete when Īntapacrā was stationed at *Ivā Choṅ Khyam mruiw* (fortress), and the government of the country fell into ruin."

61. *Y.S.* ch. 210, section on *Mien*; Huber's text, p. 668. I have not had access to the Chinese of this text, apart from the list of place-names (here fuller than in *Y.S.*) which Huber gives. His characters, too, sometimes differ from those of *Y.S.* My translation, therefore, is an amalgam, with variants added where possible.

62. 納速剌丁 Na-su-la-ting, son of the great Muslim minister of Shih Tsu, 賽典赤贍思丁 Sai-tien-ch'ih Shan-ssŭ-ting (Sayyid Ajall), who organized and pacified Yünnan. See their biographies in *Y.S.* ch. 125.

63. 爨 Ts'uan. A general name, dating from the T'ang, for the tribes, largely Lo-lo, mostly of Eastern Yünnan. See Pelliot *BEFEO* t.VI, pp. 136 follg.

64. 江頭深蹂 Chiang-t'ou Shên-jou. Chiang-t'ou "Head of the River", was the Chinese name for the city Kaungzin (Ming texts 貢章 Kung-chang), below Bhamo. See Huber's note on p. 652. It is possible to translate this sentence (much as Huber does): "He reached Chiang-t'ou and deeply trampled on the site where Hsi-an had set up his stockade." But the expression is odd. I suspect that the original reading was 蹂深 *Jou-shên*, old pronunciation *ńźieu-shyəm* (see B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, 942, 970); *i.e.*, *Ṅa Choṅ Khyam*, and that since this was not recognized as a proper name, the characters were inverted to make them intelligible. 細安 Hsi-an.

65. Stockades named: 木乃 Mu Nai. 木要 Mu Yao. 蒙帖 Mêng T'ieh. 木巨 Mu Chü. 木禿 Mu T'u. 磨欲 Mo Yü. 曲蠟 (*H.*臘) 蒲折 Ch'ü-la P'u-chê, 孟磨愛呂 Mêng Mo Ai lü. 磨柰 Mo Nai. 蒙匡 Mêng K'uang. 里答 (*H.* 黑答) 八剌 Li-ta (*H.* Hei-ta)-Pa-la. 蒙忙 (*H.* 古) 甸甫祿堡 (*H.* 保) Mêng Mang (*H.* Ku) *tien* Fu-lu-pao. 木都彈禿 Mu Tu Tan T'u.

66. *Y.S.* ch. 10 (16th year, 6th month, *kuei-ssŭ* day). The first stockade mentioned, 忙 Mang, should be the Mêng Mang of n. 65. Huber's 'Mêng Ku' (usually = Mongol) is probably a mistake.

67. *Supra*, n. 15; *infra*, 104.

68. 蠻莫 Man-mo, at the foot of 蠻哈 Man-ha Mt. Split off from 孟密 Mêng Mi (Möng Mit) in the 13th year of wan-li, 1585 A.D. (see *TSFYCY* ch. 119, pp. 4752-3). Here is still

the Chinese inscription-pillar of 劉鋌 Liu T'ing (March 22nd 1584- see his memorial to the Throne, *Tien-hsi* VIII 3, f.11v^{0})

69. See *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, part II, Vol. I, p. 46, and map facing p. 72.

70. *Man-shu* ch. 6, f. 5v^{0}-6r^{0}. 麗水渡 Li Shui ferry. 祁鮮 Ch'i-hsien 神龍河柵 Shên-lung *ho* stockade, 摩零都督城 Mo-ling city of the General Commander.

71. *Rep. Sup., Arch. Surv. Burma.* 1916, pp. 37-40.

72. *Ibid.*, 1948 pp. 8-9.

73. Huber's text (p. 668) gives the exact day—20th year, 9th month, 1st day. For this campaign, see also *Y.S.* ch. 133, biography of 也罕的斤 Yeh-han-ti-chin, and ch. 210 Section on *Mien.* In my translation *infra*, I combine these sources.

74. 10th month, 17th day.

75. 太卜 T'ai-pu (Tabu ?). 羅必甸 Lo-pi *tien*. See Huber's note 2 on p. 668; and *supra*, n. 42. The Lo-pi route appears to have led to T'ien-pu-ma (the Nam Hkam route).

76. Yeh-han-ti-chin (Yagan-tegin) left on the 2nd day of the 11th month (Huber, pp. 668-9), via Chên-hsi (Kan-ai).

77. 相吾答兒 Hsiang-wu-ta-erh. For the 驃甸 P'iao-tien route see Huber, p. 669, n.1.

78. 11th month, 11th day (Huber, p. 669).

79. 11th month, 13th day (*ibid.*).

80. 19th day (*ibid.*).

81. *Y.S.* ch. 13 (21st year, 1st month, *ting-mao* day). Yeh-han-ti-chin's biography gives the names of the envoys sent to summon the king of Mien- 黑的兒 Hei-ti-erh (Qïdïr ?) and 楊林 Yang Lin.

82. 建都太公城 T'ai-kung city (Tagaung, Old Burm. *Takoṅ*) of the Chien-tu (Kadu, Old Burm. *Kantū*). These Burma Chien-tu are not to be confused with other Chien-tu (same characters) mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 8 (12th year, 3rd month, *i-hai* day; 13th

year, 1st month, *chia-wu* day), ch. 13 (21st year, 8th month, *chia-hsü* day), and ch. 15 (25th year, 9th month, *kêng-tzhŭ* day), who appear to have been in the 建昌 Chien-ch'ang valley in North Yünnan, on the road to Ch'êng-tu, Ssŭch'uan. General 合帶 Ho-tai (Qadai?) and the *wan-hu* (commander of ten thousand households) 不都蠻 Pu-tu-man (Butman?)

83. For the Sak-Lui Group of Tibeto-Burman languages, see Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 27-28; Vol. III, Part III, pp.43 follg., etc.

84. For early mentions of the name, see Pl. V 563[8] *Tarukple maṅkrī* (703*s.*); 471[13] *Tarukpliy maṅkrī* 705*s.*).

85. The term *Taruk* was later transferred to Burma's next invaders from the north, the Ming Chinese; and so (now written *Tarup*) is applied today to Chinese generally.

86. *Y.S.* ch. 13 (21st year, 4th month, *jen-yin* day 忽都鐵木兒 Hu-tu-t'ieh-mu-erh.

87. *Ibid.* (7th month, *ting-ch'ou* day). 羅必丹 Lo-pi-tan is doubtless for Lo-pi *tien* (Möng Hum).

88. *Ibid.* (22nd year, 7th month, *i-wei* day). 羅北甸 Lo-pe *tien* is yet another variant.

89. *Ibid.* (9th month, *i-hai* day). 永昌 Yung-ch'ang. 騰衝 T'êng-ch,ung, an old variant name for 騰越 T'êng-yüeh.

90. *Ibid.* (10th month, *ting-mao* day).

91. *Y.S.* ch. 210, Section on *Mien*. Huber's text (pp. 669-670) corresponds closely except for a few differences in the names.

92. Pl. III 271, reverse of the Mṅagalacetī pagoda inscription, now at Pagan Museum, St. 110, E. face. The initial date is 647 *s.* (1285 A.D.).

93. 阿必立相 A-pi-li-hsiang. 忙直卜算 (or 筭) Mang-chih-pu-suan. For the latter name Huber's text has 忙直十弄 Mang-chih-shih-lung.

94. 孟乃甸白衣頭目解塞 "Tai-sai, chief of the Pai-i of Mêng Nai *tien*."

95. 騄甸土官匿俗 "Ni-su, native official of P'iao-tien."

96. I follow Huber's text in reading 蘆川 Lu-ch'uan. The reading of the Pai-na and other editions, 麗川 Li-ch'uan, must be a mistake.

97. 押赤 "Ya-ch'ih city, capital of the 烏蠻 Wu Man (Black S. Barbarians), on the brink of 滇池 Tien-ch'ih (the Lake of Tien)." See *Y.S.* ch. 121, biography of Wu-liang-ho-t'ai. *Yachañ* is the name given in the Burmese inscription (Pl. III 271[18]).

98. *Taytū* of the inscription (Pl. III 271[19]) is 大都 Ta-tu (or 太都 T'ai-tu), "great capital." See *Y.S.* ch. 58. The name was changed from 中都 Chung-tu, "central capital," to Ta-tu in the 9th year of *chih-Yüan* 1272 A.D.

99. *Y.S.* ch. 14 (23rd year, 6th month, *hsin-yu* day): "The Emperor sent 怯烈 Ch'ieh-lieh, 招討使 *chao-t'ao-shih* ('imperial envoy to summon and punish') of Chên-hsi and P'ing-mien Roads, to summon and notify Mien kingdom." In his interesting biography (*Y.S.* ch. 133) he is said also to have been *hsüan-fu-sshŭ* (Comforter) of Chên-hsi' Mien (for P'ing-mien), and Lu-ch'uan Roads. Later he was appointed Chief Secretary of Mien-chung Province. The name is the same as Käräit, then a Christian Turkic tribe between China and East Mongolia.

100. *Y.S.* ch. 21 (7th year of *ta-tê*, 3rd month, *i-sshŭ* day): "The Emperor abolished 征緬 Chêng-mien province, split off from Yünnan."

101. 雪雪的斤 Hsüeh-hsüeh-ti-chin. See *Y.S.* ch. 14 (23rd year of chih-yüan, 2nd month, *chia-ch'ên* day). Pl. III, 271[12] *Susuttaki*.

102. *Y.S.* ch. 16 (27th year, 7th month, *kuei-ch'ou* day).

103. *Ibid.* (28th year, 10th month, *jên-shên* day).

104. 忙乃甸 Mang Nai *tien*. This must be same as 孟乃甸 Mêng Nai *tien* (*supra*, n. 15). Here a river-port, it probably means Tagaung.

105. 不速速古里 Pu-su-su-ku-li. 昔里怯答剌 Hsi-li-ch'ieh-ta-la. The latter name, Śrī Kṣetra, is the classical title of Old Prome. For the first, we propose the emendation 不連 Pu-lien-su-ku-li, *i.e.*, *Pra ñ sūkrī*, "headman of Prome."

106. 木浪周 Mu-lang-chou. *Mu-lang* ordinarily represents Old Burm. *Mraṅ-*.

107. 阿難答 A-nan-ta.

108. 也先帖木兒 Yehhsien-t'ieh-mu-erh (Äsän Tämür), grandson of Khubilai, and son of the first Prince of Yünnan, 忽哥赤 Hu-ko-ch'ih (appointed on Sept. 12th, 1267—see *Y.S.* ch. 6).

109. 蒲甘 P'u-kan (Old Burm. *Pukaṁ*).

110. See, *e.g.*, *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, transl. by Tin and Luce, pp. 178-9.

111. 暹 *Hsien*=Syaṁ, Syām. Central Siam.

112. 羅斛 *Lo-hu*=Lavo, Lavapura, Lopburi, in the old Mon Kingdom of South Siam (Dvāravatī).

113. 八百媳婦 *Pa-pai-hsi-fu*, "800 wives." "It is an old tradition that the tribal chieftain had 800 wives, each controlling one stockade" (*Ming-shih*, ch. 314, Section on *Pa-pai*). Thai *Lan-na* Yomakarattha. Capital Chieng Mai ("New City"), said to have been founded in 1292-6 (*États hindouises*, p. 349). Pa-pai-hsi-fu first occurs, under date Oct. 11th, 1292, in *Y.S.* ch. 17 (29th year of *chih-yüan*, 8th month, *mou-wu* day).

114. 徹里 Ch'ê-li.- 車里 Ch'ê-li, the regular later form of the word, appears first, I think, under date Jan. 24th, 1324: see *Y.S.* ch. 29 (3rd year of *chih-chih*, 12th. month, *i-yu* day). Ch'ê-li was largely peopled by Lü.

115. See *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 240-4.

116. 何子志 Ho Tzŭ-chih. See *Y.S.* ch. 12 (19th year of *chih-yüan*, 6th month, *chi-hai* day=July 17th, 1282), and ch. 210 Section on 占城 *Chan-cheng* (Champa). Ho Tzŭ-chih's death was on Feb.

21st, 1283, according to the Pai-na text (20th year, 1st month, 23rd day).

117. *Y.S.* ch. 15 (26th year, intercalary 10th month, *hsin-ch'ou* day), when "the two kingdoms of Lo-hu and 女人 Nü-jên ('Women') sent envoys (I translate the Pai-na text).

118. *Y.S.* ch. 16 (28th year, 10th month, *kuei-wei* day). See Pelliot's translation.

119. *Y.S.* ch. 17 (29th year, 10th month, *chia-ch'ên* day).

120. *Ibid.* (30th year, 4th month, *chia-yin* day).

121. *Y.S.* ch. 18 (31st year, 6th month, *kêng-yin* day). Pelliot omits this passage in *BEFEO*, but subsequently informed Professor Coedès of it by letter (*États hindouisés*, p. 343). 必寨不里城敢木丁 "Kan-mu-ting of-ch'a-pu-li city".

122. *Ibid.* (7th month, *chia-hsü* day).

123. *États hindouisés*, p. 343.

124. *Y.S.* ch. 210 Section on *Hsien* (1st year of *yüan-chêng*). 麻里予兒 Ma-li-yü-eɬh (Malaya).

125. *Y.S.* ch. 19 (2nd year of *yüan-chêng*, 12th month, *kuei-hai* day).

126. *Ibid.* (1st year of *ta-tê*, 4th month, *jên-yin* day).

127. *Y.S.* ch. 20 (3rd year of *ta-tê*, 1st month, *kuei-wei* New Year day). 沒剌由 Mo-la-yu.

128. *Ibid.* (5th month, *ping-shên* day). 速古臺 Su-ku-t'ai. The place or places mentioned after this name. 速龍探奔奚里 Su-lung-t'an-pên-hsi-li—have not been identified. 杪羅 *sha-lo* wood. Is this Sanskrit *śāla*, *Shorea robusta* ? On p. 916 of the dictionary, *Botanical Nomenclature* published by the Shanghai Hsin-ya Bookshop (4th Ed., 1956), 杪欏 is identified as *Stewartia pseudo camellia* (Maxim).

129. *Ch.* 210. See Pelliot's translation, *loc. cit.*, p. 243.

130. *Y.S.* ch. 20 (4th year, 6th month, *chia-tzü* day). 吊吉而 Tiao-chi-êrh (Could this be a strange variant for 交趾 Chiao-chih, Annam?). 蟾八 Chan-pa (here too, if it means Champa, the first character is strange. See Pelliot's note, *loc. cit.*, p. 243, n. 9).

131. *Y.S.* ch. 25 (1st year of *yen-yu*, 3rd month, *kuei-mao* day). Led by the minister 愛眈 Ai-tan.

132. *Y.S.* ch. 26 (6th year, 1st month, *ting-ssŭ* New Year Day).

133. *Y.S.* ch. 28 (3rd year of *chih-chih*, 1st month, *kuei-ssŭ* New Year day). Accompanied by "the chief of the 八番洞蠻 Pa-fan Cave barbarians."

134. 通海 T'ung-hai. District in Lin-an *fu*, S.E. Yünnan. Lat. 24° 12', Long. 102° 56' (Playfair 6779). See Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, p. 138. T'ung-hai was one of the garrison towns of Nan-chao (*Man-shu* ch. 6, f. $3r^0$). It is placed at the 7th stage beyond Ku-yung-pu (*infra*, n. 136) in the itinerary from Tong-king to Yünnan Fu (*ibid.* ch. 1, f. $1v^0$).

135. 步頭 Pu-t'ou. Identified by Pelliot with Lin-an *fu* in S.E. Yünnan. *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 137-9). It was the southernmost point in the area occupied by the Eastern Ts'uan or Wu (=Black Man (*Man-shu* ch. 4, f. $1r^0$–v^0). The "Pu-t'ou Road" meant the road to Tongking.

136. 賈勇步 Ku-yung-pu, written 古湧步 Ku-yung-pu in 賈眈 Chia T'an's land-itinerary. It was the upper limit of navigation up the Red River, probably corresponding, says Pelliot, to modern 蠻耗 Man-hao (*BEFEO* t. IV, p. 365, n. 3; *Man-shu* ch. 1, f. $1v^0$).

137. 真登州林西原 Lin-hsi-yüan of Chên-têng *chou*.—This was the frontier area of Tongking administration under the T'ang, 22 stages from Hanoi (*Man-shu* ch. 4, f. $2v^0$), north of the Red River. Here the 桃花 T'ao-hua ('Peach Flower') tribe furnished the frontier guards, and, 12 stages beyond, the 崇麽

Ch'ung-mo bred cattle and horses, and exchanged them for Chinese salt. In 854 A.D., according to Fan Ch'o, Chinese extortion and meanness forced these tribes to sever relations and join Nan-chao, thus opening the road for the Nan-chao occupation of Tongking in 863 (*ibid*, ch. 4, f. 10v^0-11v^0). The 桃花 T'ao-hua of the *Man-shu* are clearly the same as "the 桃林 T'ao-lin people of 安南 An-nan (Tongking) living in the seven 繚洞 *wan* and *tung* (caves) of Lin-hsi-yüan" of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, ch. 222 B. I do not find Chên-têng *chou* in the T'ang histories; but probably Lin-hsi-yüan runs together the 林西州 Lin-hsi *chou* (with two districts) and 西原州 Hsi-yüan *chou* (with three districts), under Tongking (安南都護府) An-nan *tu-hu-fu*) of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* ch. 43 C. In ch. 222 C of this history the Hsi-yüan *Man* are described as living "in the south of 廣容 Kuang and Jung, and the west of 邕桂 Yung and Kuei." *i.e.*, the west of Kuangsi, and presumably astride the Tongking border. See d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des Peuples Étrangers à la Chine, Meridionaux*, pp. 236-265; G. Devéria, *La Frontière Sino-Annamite*, pp. 108-113. They are commonly identified with the 儂 Nung of today, who talk a Dai language (see F.M. Savina, *Dictionnaire Étymologique Francais-Nùng-Chinois*, 1924, Hongkong).

138. 峰州路 Fêng-chou Road. At the junction of the Clear River and Red River, 2 days upstream from An-nan *fu* (say Hanoi): see *Man-shu* ch. 1, f, 1r^0; Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, p. 141, n. 4.

139. 量水川 Liang-shui *ch'uan*. 龍河 Lung *ho* ('Dragon River'). The Liang-shui *ch'uan* was 2 stages south of Yünnan Fu Lake, "the old 黎州 *Li-chou* of the Han dynasty," with a big lake (*Man-shu* ch. 2, f. 3v^0; ch. 6, f. 3r^0)—presumably the 澂江 Ch'êng-chiang of today. All I can find about the Lung *ho* (*ibid.*, ch. 6, f. 2v^0) is that 麼鹿弄 K'uei-lu-lung river valley ("where the walrus and deer played"), the old 同勞 T'ung-lao district of the Han dynasty was "over 100 *li* south of the Lung

ho and 澐川 Yü *ch'uan*." T'ung-lao was one of the 17 cities of 益州 I-chou commandery in the Later Han dynasty (*Hou-han-shu* ch. 33).

140. 青木香 *Ch'ing-mu-hsiang* ('Dark wood perfume'). see *Man-shu* ch. 7, f. 4r^0:– "It is a product of 永昌 Yung-ch'ang. The mountains there are full of it. The mountains are 3 day-stages south of Yung-ch'ang." And contrast the distance given in Extract (iii) *infra*, where it is a product of K'un-lun kingdom, "81 day-stages from the Hsi-êrh *ho*," *i.e.*, Ta-li Lake. For this "dark wood aromatic," see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 462-4.

141. 崑崙國 K'un-lun kingdom.

142. 銀生 Yin-shêng city, "Born of Silver." One of the seven strategic cities of Nan-chao, controlled by a 大軍將 *ta-chün-chiang* ('great general'). See *Man-shu*, ch. 5, f. 1r^0. Inhabited partly by 撲 P'u (Buok) tribes (*ibid.*, ch. 4, f. 6v^0; ch. 6, f. 5r^0)–perhaps the southernmost of these proto-Burmans (see n.56 *supra*). Tea was grown in the neighbouring mountians (ch. 7, f. 3v^0). According to *Y.S.* ch. 61, the Yin-shêng *chieh-tu* of Nan-chao corresponded to the 威楚 Wei-ch'u and 開南 K'ai-nan Roads of the Yüan dynasty. "When the 蒙 Mêng-family" (rulers of Nan-chao) "flourished, they set up Yin-shêng 府 *fu*. Afterwards it was captured by the Gold Teeth and 白蠻 Pai *Man* ("White S. barbarians"), and the *fu* was removed to Wei-ch'u" (i.e., Ch'u-hsiung). "Thereupon K'ai-nan was occupied by the Wild *Man*."

143. 撲睒 P'u-*t'an* (*t'an* = 睒 *shan* of Yüan texts–see n. 41 *supra*), 'the river-valley of the P'u.' Also called 越睒 Yüeh-*t'an*, the country round T'êng-yüeh, the main centre of the P'u.

144. 龍尾 Lung-wei, 'Tail of the Dragon,' modern Hsia-kuan at the south end of Ta-li Lake.

145. 通鋐川 T'ung-têng *ch'uan*,

146. 河普川 Ho-p'u *ch'uan.*

147. 羌浪川 Ch'iang-lang *ch'uan.*

148. 送江川 Sung-*chiang* (river) *ch'uan.*

149. 卬鵝川 Chiung-ê *ch'uan.*

150. 林記川 Lin-chi *ch'uan.*

151. 大銀孔 Ta-yin-k'ung, "Great Silvermine."

152. 婆羅門 P'o-lo-mên (Brahmans). 波斯 Po-ssŭ (Persia). 闍婆 Shê-p'o (Java). 勃泥 P'o-ni (Borneo). 崑崙 K'un-lun (Mon-Khmer speakers?). – On this last term see Pelliot's discussion at *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 219-231; and Prof. Coedès' remarks on pp. 26-27 of *États hindouisés.*

153. 撲子 P'u-tzŭ. Same as P'u, *supra* n. 142, 143. 長鬢蠻 Ch'ang-tsung *Man*, "Long Chignon barbarians."

154. 開南城 K'ai-nan city. – Like Yin-shêng, one of the 7 節度 *chieh-tu* cities of Nan-chao, ruled by a 'Great General' (*Man-shu* ch. 5, f. $1r^0$). Like Yung-ch'ang, it was inhabited by 'Black Teeth,' 'Gold Teeth,' 'Silver Teeth,' 'Tattooed Legs' and 'Tattooed Face' tribes (ch. 4, f. $9r^0$) – perhaps Austric-speakers, Like Yin-shêng, it also included some P'u (f. $6v^0$) and 茫 Mang tribes (f. $9v^0$) – the southernmost of the proto-Burmans. Elephants were plentiful; and these and yaks were bred for plough-cattle (ch. 7, f. $6r^0$-v^0). 白崖 Pai-yai city (S.E. of Ta-li Lake) – or perhaps 蠻子 Man-tzŭ city 80 *li* south of it–was 11 stages north of K'ai-nan city (ch. 5, f. $4r^0$). For the evidence of the *Y.S.* (ch. 61), see n. 142 *supra.* It adds: "K'ai-nan 州 *chou* ... was formerly inhabited by two kinds of southern barbarians, the 樸 P'u and the 和泥 Ho-ni" (see *infra* n. 177).

155. 柳追和都督城 "City of the *tu-tu* (Commander-in-chief) of Liu-chui *ho.*" 和 *ho* was the Western Tscuan word for 'mountain' (*Man-shu* ch. 8, f. $3v^0$).

156. 威遠城 Wei-yuan city, 奉逸城 Fêng-i city, 利潤城 Li-jun city. Wei-yüan is N. NW. of P'u-êrh *fu*, lat. 23° 29', long. 100° 55' (Playfair 6961). According to the *Y.S.* ch. 61, Wei-yüan was one of the 4 州 *chou* under 威楚 Wei-ch'u, K'ai-nan and other Roads. "It is southwest of K'ainan *chou*. There are six river-valleys. Formerly the two tribes of southern barbarians, 撲 P'u and 和泥 Ho-ni, lived here. When the 蒙 Mêng family" (rulers of Nan-chao)" arose, they opened up Wei-ch'u as a commandery. Then communications with the territory of the *chou* began. Afterwards, the barbarian chief of the Gold Teeth and Pai-i, 阿只步 A-chih-pu, and others, seized the land. In the 3rd year of *chung-t'ung* (1262 A.D.), we attacked it and they all submitted. In the 12th year of *chih-yüan* the Emperor set up K'ai-nan *chou* and Wei-yüan *chou*, under Wei-ch'u Road."

157. 茫乃 Mang Nai, 道幷 Tao-ping, 黑齒 Hei-ch'ih ("Black Teeth"). The first name, Mang Nai, is not to be confused with the one in n. 104 *supra*.

158. 彌臣國 Mi-ch'ên kingdom. See *Man-shu* ch. 10, f. $1r^0$ - v^0. This important kingdom, which sent an embassy to China in 805 A.D. (see *T'ang-hui-yao* ch. 33, f. $26r^0$; ch. 100, f. 10 r^0, etc.). was probably on the Gulf of Martaban, "60 stages S.W. of Yung-ch'ang." The notice on 驃 P'iao (the Pyū) in ch. 222 C of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* describes a route, through coastal 'K' un-lun kingdoms,' from Mi-ch'ên to 磨地勃 Mo-ti-p'o (Martaban ?): see Pelliot's translation and comments at *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 22-4. Provisionally, I should place it at Old Pegu, at the head of the Gulf.

159. 模迦羅 Mu-chia-lo, 于泥 Yü-ni, 禮强子 Li-ch'iang-tzŭ The names could be divided in other ways, *e.g.*, Mu-chia, Lo-jü, Ni-li, Ch'iang-tzŭ.

160. 蠻界西洱河 "Hsi-ĕrh *ho* of the *Man* borders." The Hsi-êrh *ho* is Ta-li River and Lake. *Man*, "southern barbarians," in the *Man-shu* ("Book of the *Man*"), means generally Nan-chao.

161. 青木香 *ch'ing-mu-hsiang*. See n. 140 *supra*.

162. 女王國 Nü-wang kingdom, where "Woman reigns."

163. 鎮南節度 Chên-man ('Guard the South') *chieh-tu-chieh-tu-shih* was a T'ang title for a high miltary official deputed by the Emperor usually as governor of a province. As applied in Nan-chao, it was used of any of the 12th 'Great Generals' sent to "administer vital strategic cities or garrison towns" (*Man-shu* ch.9, f.2v^0). The list of the original 7 *chieh-tu* cities given at ch. 5,f. 1r^0, does not include Chên-nan, which, indeed, the *Man-shu* only mentions in the extract translated in the text. It was therefore a late creation. Chên-nan, at present, is a little northwest of 楚雄 Ch'u-hsiung (old 威楚 Wei-ch'u). It is on Lat. 25°16', Long. 101°24' (Playfair 431). See Pelliot's note at *BEFEO* t. IV, p. 375, n. 3; he says that Chên-nan *chou* dates from 1285. It there were not two places of the same name, the extract in the text shows that it existed already, as a *chieh-tu*, in 863. According to *Y.S.* ch. 61, theo ldern ame for *Chên-nan chou* was 和子 Ho-tzŭ city; it was captured by 閣羅鳳 Ko-lo-fêng of Nan-chao. Pelliot identifies it also with the 沙邨館 Sha-ch'io Inn of the *Man-shu* itinerary (ch. 1, f. 2r^0). It is possible, I think, that Chên-nan *chieh-tu*, when Nan-chao was at the height of its power, may have been much further south, and that when the southern frontier drew in, the name was transferred to the administrative headquarters in Central Yünnan. This seems to have happened in the case of K'ai-nan, Wei-yüan and Yin-shêng.

164. 驩州 Huan-chou. The southernmost *chou* of 8th cent. China. Pelliot (*BEFEO* t. IV, p. 184) places it at or near Ha-tinh on the coast of Annam.

165. 水真蠟 Shui ('Water') Chên-la. 陸 Lu ('Land') Chên-la.— The T'ang histories show that during nearly all the 8th century, Chên-la (Old Cambodia) was divided into these two kingdoms (See Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 211-5). Land Chên-la was clearly to the north. Prof. Coedès (*États hindouisés*, pp. 161-3) says that, on the evidence of Chia Tan's land-itinerary, its capital at the

end of the 8th century was at first located in the region of Pak Hin Bun on the middle Mekong, but was probably much further south, towards the centre of the original Chên-la.

166. See Prof. Coedès, *Etats hindouisés*, pp. 148-150, 161-3, 167 follg.

167. See Prof. R. Lingat's conclusions' *Les Régimes matrimoniaux du Sud-Est de l'Asie*, t. I, pp. 165 follg.

168. See Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 141-2; G. Devéria, *La Frontière Sino-Annamite* pp. 52-53.

169. See *Man-shu*, ch. 9

170. *Etats hindouisés*, p. 161, based on Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 212, 139. The latter gives as his source the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 975, f. $22r^0$-v^0. 何履光 Ho Li-kuang. Li 李宓 Mi.

171. *Y.S.* ch. 16 (27th year of *chih-yuan*, 3rd month, *chi-wei* day), and ch. 61.

172. 蒙憐路 Mêng Lien Road. "In the 27th year of *chih-yüan* (1290 A.D.), in accordance with the request of Yünnan province Mêng Lien 甸 *tien* was made into Mêng Lien Road military and civil 總管府 *tsung-kuan-fu*, and Mêng Lai *tien* into Mêng Lai Road military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu*" (*Y.S.* ch. 61). Not to be confused with the 孟璉長官司 Mêng Lien *chang-kuan-ssŭ* of the Ming dynasty, set up in April 19th—May 17th, 1406, at Möng Lem, just north of the Kengtung State border. The *Ming-shih* (ch. 46) places Mêng Lien Road and Mêng Lai Road of the Yüan dynasty in the north of Mu-pang. A 木連 Mu-lien Road military and civil *fu* is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61; possibly this is Möng Lem.

173. 蒙萊路 Mêng Lai Road. In Huber's text the name is written 蒙來 Mêng Lai. See his note on p. 678. Not to be confused with 木來府 Mu-lai *fu*, mentioned below. "Mêng Lai Road military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.

174. 阿眞國 A-chên-kuo, 阿占國 A-chan-kuo. See Huber, p. 674, n. 2.

175. 木邦路 Mu-pang Road. "Military and civil *fu*" (*Y.S.* ch. 61). According to the *Ming-shih* (ch. 315, Section on *Mu-pang*), the military and civil 總管府 *tsung-kuan-fu* of Mu-pang Road, controlling three 甸 *tien*, was set up in the 26th year of *chih-yüan* (1289 A.D.).

176. 孟定路 Mêng Ting Road. "Military and civil *fu*" (*Y.S.* ch. 61): ch. 18 (31st year of *chih-yüan*, 4th month, *chi-yu* day). Cf. *Ming-shih* ch. 46.

177. *Y.S.* ch. 10 (15th year of *chih-yüan*, 4th month, *ting-ch'ou* day). 臨安 Lin-an (Lat. 23° 37', Long. 103° 05' – Playfair 3838), the chief city in S.E. Yunnan. 和泥 Ho-ni – a tribe, mentioned with the 樸 P'u, as inhabiting K'ai-nan *chou* and Wei-yüan *chou* (*Y.S.* ch. 61, and n. 154 and 156 *supra*). 威楚 Wei-ch'u (see *Y.S.* ch. 61 – "Wei-cheu, K'ai-nan and other Roads") is modern 楚雄 Ch'u-hsiung (Lat. 25° 02', Long. 101° 43' – Playfair 1404). 落落 Lo lo (the Lo-los of today. The name is written in many different ways in Chinese). 禿老蠻 T'u-lao *Man*: probably the 土老 T'u-lao or 土獠 T'u-lao (mliao) of Devéria, *La Frontière Sino-Annamite* pp. 114-115. In the Yüan dynasty they were further north, in 高州 Kao-*chou* (now Kao-*hsien*) and 鎮連 Yün lien *chou* N.E. of Yünnan, now under Ssŭch'uan (Lat. 28° 06', Long. 104° 40' – Playfair 7832).

178. *Y.S.* ch. 16 (27th year, 7th month, *ping-yin* day). 闍力 Shê-li. 白衣甸 Pai-i *tien*, Possibly this Shê-li is the 闍里 Shê-li of ch. 26 (6th year of *yen-yu*, 2nd month, *ting-yu* day = March 3rd, 1319): – "Ai-o of Shê-li of Yunnan, and A-pa-la the P'u *Man* of Yung-ch'ang, etc., all made raids. The Emperor ordered Yunnan province to take every opportunity to exterminate or arrest them."

179. *Y.S.* ch. 17 (29th year, 8th month, *mou-wu* day). 不敦忙兀魯迷失 Pu-tun Mang-wu-lu-mi-shih. 八百媳婦 Pa-pai-hsi-fu,

180. *Y.S.* ch. 61; ch. 17 (29th year, 12th month, *kêng-yin* day). 木來府 Mu-lai *fu* 忙兀禿兒迷失 Mang-wu-t'u-erh-mi-shih. 布伯 Pu-po. 馬列 Ma-lieh. According to the *Ming-shih* ch. 46, Mu-lai *fu* was south-east of Mêng Lien *chang-kuan-ssŭ* (Mŏng Lem). For 木來州 Mu-lai *chou*, see n. 183 *infra*.

181. *Y.S.* ch. 17 (29th year, 12th month, *chi-yu* day). 阿散男布八 A-san-nan Pu-pa. 麓川路 Lu-ch'uan Road. 趙昇 Chao Shêng. 木忽魯甸 Mu-hu-lu *tien* 忽魯馬男 Hu-lu-ma-nan (and) 阿魯 A-lu.

182. *Y.S.* ch. 17 (30th year, 1st month, *jên-hsü* day), 漆頭蠻 Ch'i-t'ou *Man* "Lacquered Head barbarians."

183. *Y.S.* ch. 61 木朶路 Mu-to Road; ch. 17 (30th year, 11th month, *mou-ch'ên* day). 木朶甸 Mu-to *tien*. 下路總管府 *hsia-lu* (minor Road) *tsung-kuan-fu*. See also ch. 30 (3rd year of *t'ai-ting*, 9th month, *mou-ch'ên* day=Oct. 23rd, 1326): 哀用 Ai Yung, nephew of 昭哀 Chao Ai of 大車里 Great Ch'ê-li, and 吾仲 Wu Chung native official of 孟隆甸 Mêng Lung *tien*, all submitted local products and came to offer tribute. The Emperor took Chao Ai's land set up one 木朶路 Mu-to Road there, with one 木來州 Mu-lai *chou* and three *tien*. He took Wu Chung's land and set up one Mêng Lung Road there, with one *tien*." Mêng Lung Road is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61. The *Ming-shih* (ch.46), describing 孟艮 Mêng Kên *yü-i-fu* of the Ming dynasty (Kengtung State or part of it), says that Mu-to Road and Mêng Lung Road were to the east of it, and 孟愛 Mêng Ai to the northeast. According to *TSFYCY* ch. 119, p. 4749), the cancelled Mu-to Road was 200 *li* east of Mêng Kên *fu*.

184. *Y.S.* ch. (31st year, 10th month, *i-wei* day). 孟愛甸 Mêng Ai *tien*. See n. 183 *supra*. "Mêng Ai and other *tien*, military and civil *fu*," is also recorded in ch. 61. In some editions the date is wrongly given as the 21st year, but rightly in the *Pai-na*.

185. *Y.S.* ch. 19 (2nd year of *yüan chêng*, 12th month, *mou-hsü* day). 徽里 ch'ê-li, 胡念 Hu Nien. 胡倫 Hu Lun.

186. *Y.S.* ch. 19 (1st year of *ta-tê*, 9th month, *shia-tzŭ* day). 也先不花 Yeh-hsien-pu-hua (Asän-buqa). See his biography in the *Y.S.* ch.134.

187. 葫蘆國 Hu-La kingdom. See, *e.g.*, J. Siguret, *Territoires et Populations des Confins du Yunnan*, Vol. I, pp. 198–210, Vol. II pp. 51–53. 卡瓦 Ch'ia-wa (= Wa).

188. 繡面蠻 Hsiu-mien *Man*, "Tattooed Face barbarians" (*Man-shu* ch. 4, f. 9r^{0}).

189. *États hindouisés*, p. 349.

190. 招捕總錄 *Chao-pu-tsung-lu*. 守山閣叢書 *Shou-shan-ko-ts'ung-shu* of 錢熙祚 Ch'ien Hsi-tsu (Shanghai, Po-ku-chai ed., 1922,180 vols.).

191. *États hindouisés*, p. 326.

192. *BEFEO* t. XXV, p. 88.

193. *Supra*, p. 140 and n. 119.

194. The *Mang-wu-t'u-êrh-shih* of Extract (iv) must surely be the same as the *Pu-tun Mang-wu-lu-mi-shih* of Extract (iii). Burma's invader in 1300-1 (see Huber, p. 674) was 忙兀都魯迷失 *Mang-wu-tu-lu-mi-shih*. In the Section on *Mien* (ch. 210) he is called 忙完禿魯迷失 Mang-wan-t'u-lu-mi-shih.

195. Doubtless the "*Tala sukri* who became king" of the younger Phwā Caw's inscription at Pwazaw, Pl. IV 392^{16} (663*s.*, 1301 A.D.). The name *Klawcwā* occurs at Pl. V 580a^{3} (655*s.*). He is usually called *Rhuy-nan-syaṅ*, 'Lord of the Golden Palace.'

196. Pl. III 282$^{1-9}$, at Doyinpahto pagoda, Minnanthu. The Burmese date is Monday, the 12th waxing of *Mlwaytā* (Wazo), 651*s.*

197. Pl. IV 417, now at Kyaukzedi, Singaing. The date, twice given, is Tuesday, the 11th waning of Tabaung, 650*s.* (approx. Feb. 15th, 1289).

198. See A.D. Phayre, *History of Burma* (1883), p. 57; Scott and

Hardiman, *Upper Burma Gazeteer* Part I, Vol. I, p. 198; G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (1925), pp. 75-76.

199. In 1375 A.D., *Kaṅkasū*, headman of *Khaṅmwan* on the Sagaing Monywa border, compares the victory of king *Tryāphyā* of Ava over the *diṭhi Syaṁ* to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's victory over the Coḷa *Klañ* heretic, Eḷāra, at Anurādhapura, Ceylon, in 101 B.C. (*List* 682[8], 736*s*.). This is repeated in *Caw Nantā's* inscriptions of 1383 (*List* 713a[7], 744*s*.) and 1392 *List* 761a[9], 754*s*.).

200. Thus the younger Phwā Caw's big inscription at the Hsutaungoyi pagoda, Pagan (Pl.IV 390–393, 661–3s./1300–1 A.D.) shows her to be the queen of "*Chaṅ phlū skhiṅ* reigning in *Arimattanapūra*" (Pl.IV 3905), *i.e.*, Saw Nit of Pagan, *not* Sīhasūra the Shan brother. But the latter is certainly called *Chaṅ phlū sikhaṅ* in the Kyauksè *Tamut* inscription of Dhammasiri (Pl.IV 428[13], 662–681s.); *Chaṅ phlū syaṁ* at Pl.IV 389c[8])657*s*.)–a Kyauksè inscription; and again *Chaṅ phlū skhiṅ* at Pl.IV 406a[19] (Mandalay Palace Shed, 88, 669*s*./1308 A.D.).– an inscription shown by its material, marble, to come from Kyauksè. Probably Sīhasūra was the donor of one the brick monasteries in the Hsinbyushin ('Lord of the White Elephant') group near Minnanthu, Pagan (Pl.V 503–4, 692–715*s*.).

201. Pl.III 291[10-14], 661*s*./1299 A.D., still in the Thambula temple there. The Burmese date is Monday, the 1st waxing of Kasôn, 661*s*.). *Suṁlūla*, 'Moon of the Three Worlds,' Triloka candradevī, soon got corrupted into *Sambhūla* Thambula.

202. Pl.III 276a, 654*s*./1293 A.D. The Burmese date is Thursday, the 11th waxing of Tabaung (?). Several words and clauses (*e.g.*) the reference to the defeat of the *Taruk* are no longer visible on the stone. I restore them from the copy of lines 1–5 in Mahājeyasaṅkhayā U Chein's *Vohāralinatthadīpanī Kyan*, p. 301.

203. Rājasaṅkraṁ, "when the *Tanluiṅ* rebelled, attacked *Tala mruiw* (Twante) and took it," and so got "a reward for bravery" in 655*s*/1293 A.D. See his inscription, Pl.III 294[6], Stone 72 at

Pagan Museum. The date of this part of the inscription (which is often illegible) is perhaps the 11th waxing of Nadaw, 655*s*.– towards the end of 1293 A.D.

204. *Y.S.* Ch. 210 Section on *Mien* (4th. year of *ta-te*, 5th month, *i.e.*, May 19th – June 17th, 1300).

205. 管竹思加 Kuan-ch-ussn̆-chia. See Huber,s text, pp. 670–2 (2nd year of *ta-te*, 2nd month, March 14th–April 11th, 1298). The name is probably Tibetan.

206. 登籠 Têng-lung, Old Burm. *Tanluiṅ* the northern word for the Mons (Old Mon *Rmeñ*). The leaders sent by the Mon king included his two uncles 兀剌合 Wu-la-ho and 兀都魯新合 Wu-tu-lu-hsin-ho (Uttarasiṁha). They reached Pagan in the 2nd month (March 14th–April 11th, 1298).

207. In the 6th month (July 10th–Aug. 7th, 1298).

208. 鄒聶 Tsou-nieh, described as "a bastard son of the king, then 16 years old" (Huber text, p. 675).

209. 甘當 Kan-tang. 散當 San-tang. 只麻剌 Chih-ma-la. 班羅 Pan-lo.

210. Pl.III 293[1-3], 661*s*. (Sunday, 5th waxing of *Santu*, Thading-yut). The inscription, now Stone 3 at Kyauksè Club, comes from the Kudwetawya monastery, Samá village.

211. Certain parts of the land-dedications in Pl.III 293 are repeated in *List* 1326 (UB II 256), a fragmentary inscription not yet recovered.

212. "The headman *Anata jayāpakraṁ*" who also,in 1296, received "a reward for bravery in the victorious war and attack on *Tala* (Pl.III 292[18], 658*s*.). The stone is a mica schist, which shows that it is a Kyauksè inscription.

213. Early in 1293 Asaṅkhayā claims that Pagan rule extended to Tenasserim and Tavoy (Plate III 276a[2], 654*s*. Tabaung); but this may be a claim rather than statement of fact.

214. Pl. III 279[15], 272[18], 274[15], 273[18-19].

215. Pl.III 297[30] (654*s*., Wed., 13th waning of Nayôn).

216. Pl.III 276a (654*s*., Thurs., 11th waxing of Tabaung ?)

217. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, transl. Tin and Luce, p. 179.

218. Pl.III 273[21], 275[1, 2].

219. Pl.III 272[6, 12], 274[4, 7].

220. PL.III 272[32], 274[18] (Thurs., 11th waxing of Nayôn, 653*s*.).

221. Pl.III 272[18], 273[18], 274[15].

222. Pl.III 274[12] (*atuiw skhiṅ maṅkri sā Dhaṁmmarac*). — In the *Kathin* (end of Lent) offerings of 652*s*./1290 A.D., there was a dispute about some land dedicated; and enquiries were made, first by Asaṅkhayā, then by the king, and finally by Prince *Dhaṁmmarac*. The question is whether *atuiw skhin* here means "my husband," *i.e.*, Tarukpliy, or "our lord," *i.e.*, Klawcwā.

223. Pl.III 276b[2] (*Puthuiw-ni maṅ nhaṅ maṅ Klacwā moṅnhaṁ* —655*s*., Thurs., 7th waxing of Tazaungmôn). The inscription records their building of a monastery "west of *Khatcaṅ* (?) village," near Mônbaung, Myingôndaing *kharuin*, from which the stone has been removed to Mandalay (Palace Shed, Stone 510). The reverse (Pl.IV 398a[3]), of identical date though perhaps later hand shows them making request to *Tajisyaṅ* (the first mention of this popular royal name of Sihasu, 'Lord of One (White Elephant),' to confirm their dedication.

224. Pl.IV 390[25], 392[4, 10, 22]. The date of the first stone is Friday, 3rd waning of Tabodwè, 661*s*., early in 1300 A.D.

225. Pl.III 279[26] (655*s*., Sun., 13th waxing of Tabodwè).

226. Pl.III 282[14] (656*s*., Wed., 11th waning of Pyatho).

227. Pl.IV 389c[8] (657*s*.). The inscription, now at Mandalay Palace Shed (Stone 79, E. face), comes from Mônbaung, Mhingon, daing Kyauksè.

228. Pl. III 285[2] (658*s*., Sat., 7th waning of Nadaw).

229. Huber's text (p.670). 1st year of *ta-te* (1297 A.D.). 僧加八的 Sêng-chia-pa-ti.

230. *Y.S.* ch.210 Section on *Mien*. 1st year of *ta-te*, 2nd month (Feb. 23rd–Mar. 23rd, 1297). 信合八的 Hsin-ho-pa-ti. Klawcwā is called 的立普哇拿阿迪提牙 Ti-li-p'u-wa-na-a-ti-t'i-ya *Trihhuvanâditya*' Sun of the Three Existences').

231. *Y.S.* ch. 19 (1st. year of *ta-te*, 2nd month, *chi-wei* day = March 20th, 1297). 撒邦巴 Sa-pang-pa. 阿散 A-san.

232. See Huber, p. 675. 那速剌 Na-sula (Narasūra ?) was a son in-law of Klawcwā and governor of 馬來 Ma-lai town *Malan* Malè, on the west bank of the Irrawaddy in Shwebo district).

233. 教化迪 Chiao Hua-ti.

234. See n. 99 *supra*, and Ch'ieh-lieh's biography in *Y.S.* ch.133.

235. Pl.III 292[20] (659*s*., Thurs. (?), 15th waxing of Tazaungmôn).

236. Huber's text, pp.670-671 (2nd year of *ta-te*, 2nd month = March 14th–April 11th, 1298). See n. 205 *supra*.

237. Huber's text, p. 673. 阿巴 A-pa.

238. 密里都 Mi-li-tu. 邦加郎 Pang-chia-lang. Huber (p. 673, n. 1) rightly, I think, identifies the former with the old frontier town of Myedu (Old Burm. *Mliytū*), on the east bank of the Upper Mu, in the far north of Shwebo.

239. 不甘雨宿吉老亦 Pu-kan-yü-su-chi-lao-i.— *Yü-su-chi-lao-i* might possibly be Old Burm. *rwā-sūkrī*, 'village-headman.' If so, one would expect *Pu-kan* to be Pakhan, the old city on the west bank of the Irrawaddy below the Chindwin junction. But the name in Old Burmese is always written *Kukhan*. Whether it was colloquially pronounced *Pukhan* as early as this, I cannot say.

240. Huber's text, p. 675 (Na-su-la's report–2nd year of *ta-te*, 5th month).

241. 朝乞力朝普 Chao Chi-li (and) Chao P'u (*Caw Kṛ̀, Cáw Phū*?).

242. Huber's text, p. 672,

243. Pl.III 286[2] (659*s*., Thurs., 13th waxing of Pyatho), from *Satyāpicañ* monastery, Myinzaing, now at Mandalay Palace Shed (Stone 71, W. face).

244. 鄒聶 Tsou-nieh. See n. 208. Called Saw Nit in Burmese Chronicles. In the inscriptions he is *Maṅ Lulaṅ*, "the young king" (Pl. III 290b[3], 661*s*.; 292[28], 661*s*.).

245. 阿只不伽蘭 A-chih-pu-ch'ieh-lan (*Rāja.. kraṁ*). See Huber, p.671-2.

246. 密得力 Mi-tê-li, 信者章 Hsin-chê-chang, and 者思力 Chê-ssŭ-li. Mi-tê-li might be the *Mittara* (*siñjañ*) of Pl. III 279[26] (655*s*.).

247. (i) 阿散哥也 A-san-ko-yeh. Also written sometimes in the *Y.S.* 阿散吉牙 A-san-chi-ya. And, in the Emperor's edict (n. 231, *supra*) A-san. = Asaṅkhayā.

(ii) 阿剌者僧吉藍 A-la-chê-sêng-chi-lan. = Rājasaṅkraṁ.

(iii) 僧哥速 Sêng-ko-su. Called in the *Y.S.* 者蘇 Chê-su "younger brother of the Mien rebel, A-san-ko-yeh" = Sīhasūra.

248. *Y.S.* ch. 20 (3rd year of *ta-tê*, 3rd month, *kuei-ssŭ* day). 信合八的 Hsin-ho pa-ti (cf. n. 230 *supra*).

249. *Y.S.* ch. 210.

250. Huber's text, p. 675 (3rd year, 4th month, 10th day).

251. 康吉弄古馬剌加失巴 K'ang-chi-lung Ku-ma-la-chia-shih-pa. On p. 673 of Huber's text this son of Klawcwa, *Kumārakassapa*, probably a monk, who escaped to Yünnan, "accompanied by his spiritual preceptor," is called 古馬剌加失八颯馱八者里 Ku-ma-la-chia-shih-pa-su-tan-pa-chê-li (Is the last part of the name, *Sudhamma-śrī* (?), really that of the preceptor?). In the *Y.S.* he is called 窟麻剌哥撒八 Ku-ma-la-ko-sa-pa.

252. Pl. III 290b (661*s*., Thurs., 8th waxing of Nayôn), Pagan Sathingu inscription.

253. See Pl. IV 390-393 (661-663*s*.), and *List* 416 and 829 (663, 768*s*.).

254. See Pl. IV 395[19-34] (664*s*.). The original dedication was by her aunt, *Caw Pulay May*, wife of king *Klacwā*.

255. See Pl. IV 413 (672*s*.), "the temple and monastery of her brother's son, *Mahāsakthit*".

256. Pl. IV 451, 452a (696*s*.). But it was probably "the four-faced temple built by my daughter" (Pl. IV 393[21], 663*s*.).

257. Huber's text, p. 673. For Kumārakassapa see n. 251, for Mängü Türümish, n. 194, *supra*.

258. *Ibid*., p. 674.

259. *Ibid*. 阿眞谷 A-chên-kuo (Nga Singu, see n. 174). 馬來 Ma-lai (Malè, see n. 232).

260. *Ibid*., p. 675.

261. *Y.S.* ch. 20 (4th year of *ta-tê*, 5th month, *kuei wei day*).

262. *Ibid*. (6th. month, *chi-yu* day). "The Emperor appointed by decree, as king and successor to Mien kingdom, the king's son 寔麻剌哥撒八 L'u-ma-la-ko-sa-pa, and conferred on him a silver seal, and also gold and silver utensils, clothes, etc."

263. *Ibid*. (4th month, *ting ssŭ* day); ch. 210 Section on *Mien* (4th year, 4th month).

264. *Ibid*. (7th month, *Ji-yu* day). ch. 210 Section on *Mein* (autumn, 7th month). 者蘇 Chê-su. 阿散哥也 A-san-ko-yeh.

265. 安慶 An-ch'ing (capital of An-hui province), the reading in the *pênchi*, must be a slip for 中慶 Chung-ch'ing (Yünnan Fu), which is the reading in the section on *Mien*.

266. 上都 Shang-tu, "the Upper Capital" (the Xanadu of

Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan'). Near the Dolon Nor in the far north of Chih-li (Playfair 5535).

267. *Y.S.* ch. 20 (4th year, 8th month *kêng shên* day); ch. 210 Section on *Mien* (8th month). 阿散吉牙 A-san-chi-ya.

268. Huber's text, p. 676.

269. The *Yüan-shih* was compiled by 宋濂 Sung Lien and others at the very beginning of the Ming dynasty. On March 9th, 1369, according to the *Ming-shih* ch. 2 (2nd year of *hung-wa*, 2nd month, *ping-yin* day), the Emperor ordered its compilation. The modern colophon, at the end of the Pai-na edition of the *Y.S.*, says that it had been ordered still earlier, but that this was the date when an office was opened and work really begun. It continued down to Sept. 12th, 1369 (8th month, *kuei-yu* day), when the writing stopped while envoys were sent all over China with orders to all the prefectures and districts to submit historical materials. On March 3rd, 1370 (3rd year, 2nd month, *i-ch'ou* day), the office was reopened, and on Aug. 2nd (7th month, *ting-hai* day), the work was complete. 錢大昕 Ch'ien Ta-hsin, a great Ch'ing dynasty scholar, concludes that the writing took only 331 days (If the dates given above are right, it should be 341 days). "No history, ancient or modern, has been compiled so quickly as the *Yüan-shih*, and none is so poor and mean in style." Still, it had the great advantage of being written when the dust of recent events had settled, but had not been swept away.

270. Pl. IV 398[4] (665*s.*, Fri., 12th waxing of Pyatho), a Myin-zaing inscription, now at Mandalay Palace Shed (Stone 76, W. face).

371. Huber, p. 676 (4th year, 5th month, 15th day).

272. 薛超兀兒 Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh. 劉德祿 Liu Tê-lu. 闊闊 K'uo-k'uo.

273. Huber, p. 676.

274. *Ibid.* (12th month, 5th day).

275. Pl. IV 396a^4,b^1 (664*s*., Thurs., 7th waxing of Tazaungmôn).

276. Huber, p. 678.

277. Huber, p. 676 (12th month, 15th day).

278. Old Burm. *Mrañcuiñ*, Chinese 木連城 Mu-lien-ch'êng (Huber p. 672, n. 2), 迷郎崇城 Mi-lang-ch'ung city (*Y.S.* ch. 20-4th year of *t'ai-ting*, 11th month, *hsin-mao day*). The old city of Myinzaing, the capital of the Shan brothers, with its three interlocking walled enclosures, is still in fair preservation, four miles east of Kyauksè, on the east bank of the Thindwè (*Sañthway*) Canal. It is almost surrounded by hills except on the west. Cf. Huber, p. 672, n. 2.

279. 5th year of *ta-tê*, 1st month. "Stone mountain" should be Old Burm. *Klok-toṅ*. I do not find this name in the inscriptions in the immediate neighbourhood of Myinzaing; but there was one under *Sañtoṅ Kharuiṅ*, some miles to the north (Pl. IV 453a^9, 696*s*.).

280. 1st month, 19th day.

281. 2nd month, 2nd day (Huber, pp. 676-7).

282. 27th, 28th, 29th day.

283. 3rd month, 5th day.

284. 蒙來路 Mêng-lai Road. See Huber, p. 678, n. 1, and *supra* n. 172, 173.

285. *Y.S.* ch. 20 (5th year, 8th month, *chia-hsü* day).

286. 8th month, 8th day (Huber, pp. 678-9).

287. *Y.S.* ch. 20 (5th year, 6th month, *chi-yu* day). The 己酉 *chi-yu* of the text, coming as it does between 丙戌 *ping-hsü* before and 壬辰 *jên-ch'ên* after, is clearly a slip for 己丑 *chi-ch'ou*.

288. *Ibid.* (8th month, *kêng-ch'ên* day). 曳剌福山 I-la-fu-shan, 萬戶 *wan-hu* (controller of 10,000 households) of 征緬 Chêng-mien (province).

289. *Ibid.* (10th month, *chi-ssŭ* day).

290. *Y.S.* Ch. 21 (7th year, 3rd month, *i-ssŭ* day).

291. *Ibid.* (5th month, *ping-shen* day).

292. *Ibid.* (8th month, *kêng-hsü* day).

293. *Y.S.* Ch. 22 (1st. year of *chih-ta* of 武宗 Wu Tsung, 1st month, *chi-ssŭ* day).

294. *Ibid.* (5th month, *chi-ssŭ* day).

295. *Ibid.* (7th month, *kuei-yu* day). 管祝思監 Kuan-chu-ssŭ-chien. 朵兒只 To-êrh-chih.

296. *Y.S.* Ch. 24 (1st year of *huang-ch'ing*, 11th month, *kêng-shên* day). 岑福 Ts'ên-fu. 不農蠻 Pu-nung southern barbarians.

297. *Y.S.* Ch. 25 (2nd year of *yen-yu*, 6th month, *ping-wu* day). 脫剌合 T'o-la-ho.

298. *Y.S.* Ch. 26 (6th year, 7th month, *ping-ch'ên* day). 趙欽撒 Chao Ch'in-sa.

299. Ch. 20, 4th year of *ta-tê*, 12th month, *kuei-ssŭ* day. 劉深 Liu Shên, 合剌帶 Ho-la-tai, 鄭祐 Chêng Yu.

300. *Ibid.* 5th year, 1st month, *kêng-hsü* day. 鋌 *ting* 'shoe'.

301. *Ibid.* 2nd month, *ting-hai* day. 萬戶府 *wan-hu-fu*.

302. *Ibid.* 4th month, *jên-wu* day.

303. *Ibid.* 5th month, *ping-yin* day. 貝子 *pei-tzŭ* "cowry".

304. *Ibid.* 7th month, *kuei-ch'ou* day. 蒙古 Meng-ku = Mongol.

305. *Ibid.* 8th month, *chia-hsü* day.

306. *Ibid.* 6th year, 2nd month, *ping-hsü* day. 右丞 *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant Governor).

307. Ch. 21, 7th year, 3rd month, *i-ssŭ* day. For Liu Shên, Ho-la-tai and Chêng Yu, see n. 299 *supra*.

308. Ch. 23, 2nd year of *chih-ta*, 11th month, *kêng-ch'ên* 1st day of the month. 撒里 Ch'ê-li. 谷保 Ku-pao. 威遠州 Wei-yüan *chou* (see n. 156). 木羅甸 Mu-lo- *tien* (native district). 算只兒威 Suan-chih-êrh-wei. 威楚道 Wei-ch'u *tao* (region). For "Wei-ch'u, K'ai-nan and other Roads," see n. 177 and section in *Y.S.* ch. 61; under it was Wei-ch'u 縣 *hsien*. According to *TSFYCY* (ch. 119, p. 4749) the 谷寶江 Ku-pao *chiang* (note difference of characters) was another name for the Wei-yüan *chiang*, the river on which Wei-yüan stands. It flows south, and joins the Mekong from the east.

309. *Ibid.* 3rd year, 1st month, *hsin-ch'ou* day.

310. *Ibid.* *Jên-yin* day.

311. *Ibid.* 11th month, *mou-tzŭ* day.

312. Ch. 24 (reign of Jên-Tsung), 4th year, 5th month, *kuei-yu* day. 阿忽台 A-hu-t'ai.

313. *Ibid.* 1st year of *huang-ch'ing*, 2nd month, *chi-mao* day.

314. *Ibid.* 8th month, *hsin-mao* day.

315. *Ibid.* 9th month, *mou-hsü* day.

316. *Ibid.* *Hsin-ch'ou* day.

317. *Ibid.* 10th month, *chia-tzŭ* day. For Suan-chih-êrh-wei, see n. 308 *supra*. 國師 *kuo-shih*, i.e. *rājaguru*. 搠思吉斡節兒 Shuo-ssŭ-chi-wa-chieh-êrh.

318. Ch. 25, 2nd year of *yen-yu*, 10th month, *kuei-mao* day.

319. Ch. 26, 6th year of *yen-yu*, 12th month, *chia-tzŭ* day.

320. Ch. 29, 3rd year of *chih-chih*, 12th month, *i-yu* day. 孛里于孟 Yü Mêng of Ch'ê-li. Note the new first character of 孛 Ch'ê-li. It becomes regular henceforward.

321. *Ibid.* *Ting-hai* day. 花脚蠻 Hua-chiao *Man*, 'Flowery Leg barbarians.' Cf. the 繡脚 Hsiu-chiao *Man*. 'Embroidered, *i.e.*, Tattooed, Legs *Man*' of the *Man-shu* (ch. 4, f. 9r^0), who were a

tribe of 'Yung-ch'ang and K'ai-nan', perhaps of the old Austric-speaking peoples.

322. *Ibid.* 1st year of *t'ai-ting*, 8th month, *kuei-wei* day.

323. *Ibid.* 10th month, *chi-ssŭ* day. 斡耳朵 Wa-êrh-to. 尼而 Ni-êrh. 塞賽 Sai-sai. 刁零 Tiao Ling. 鷹搆木 Ying-kou-mu.

324. *Ibid.* 2nd year of *t'ai-ting* 5th month, *jêntzŭ* day. 陶剌孟 T'ao La-mêng. 大阿哀 Great A-ai. 朵剌 To-la.

325. *Ibid.* 7th month, *mou-shên* 1st day of month.

326. *Ibid. Chia-yin* day. 鎮康路 Chên-K'ang Road. 你囊 Ni Nang. 謀粘路 Mou-chan (*or* -nien Road. 賽丘羅 Sai Ch'iu-lo. For Chên-k'ang Road see *supra*, n. 35. There is a bare mention of "Mou-chan Road military and civil *fu*" in *Y.S.* ch. 61. In the *Ming-shih*, ch. 46, it is given under Mêng Ting *yu-i-fu*:— "To the south-east there is Mou-chan Road, set up in the 7th month of the 3rd year of *t'ai-ting* of the Yüan (1326 A.D.)." According to *TSFYCY* (ch. 119, p. 4747), the cancelled Mou-chan Road was southeast of Mêng Ting *fu*.

327. *Ibid. Chi-wei* day 總管府 *tsung-kuan-fu* (Governor's Office). 寒賽 Han Sai.

328. Ch. 30, 3rd year of *t'ai-ting*, 5th month, *chia-yin*. 招南道 Chao Nan-tao. 招三聽 Chao San-t'ing.

329. *Ibid.* 7th month, *chi-wei* day. 招南通 Chao Nan-t'ung.

330. *Ibid.* 9th month, *kuei-hai* day.

331. *Ibid. Mou-ch'ên* day. 哀培 Ai P'ei. 禿剌 T'u-la stockade. 威楚 Wei-ch'u Road. 阿吾 A-wu, son of 阿只弄 A-chih-lung. 景東 Ching-tung stockade. 你刀 Ni Tao. Great A-ai stockade (see n. 324). 哀卜利 Ai Pu-li. Mu-lo stockade (and *tien*, see n. 308). 阿利 A-li, Mang-shih Road (see n. 39). 陀金客 T'o-chin-k'o 泥囊 Ni Nang. 鎮江 Chên-chiang Road. 丘羅 Ch'iu-lo. 木帖 Mu-t'ieh Road. 哀用 Ai Yung. 昭哀 Chao Ai. 吾仲 Wu

Chung. For Mêng Lung *tien*, Mu-to Road, Mu-lai *chou* see n. 180, 183. For Ching-tung, see Lat. 24° 31' Long. 101° 04' (Playfair 1138), between the Mekong and the Red River. "Mêng Lung Road military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.

332. *Ibid.* 4th year, 2nd month, *kêng-yin* day Chao Nan-t'ung (see n. 329).

333. *Ibid.* 7th month, *mou-wu* day. Sai Ch'iu-lo, Mou-chan Road (see n. 326). 招三斤 Chao San-chin. 銀沙羅 Yin-sha-lo. 散怯遮 San-ch'ieh-chê.

334. *Ibid.* Intercalary 9th month, *chia-wu* day. 蒙慶 Mêng Ch'ing. 木安府 Mu-an *fu*. 孟倏府 Mêng Chieh *fu*. 烏撒 Wu-sa. 你出公 Ni-ch'u-kung. 招諭人 *chao-ÿu-jên* 'Summoner.' 米德 Mi-tê. 混盆 Hun P'ên. The Wu-sa tribes lived "750 *li* N.E. of Chung-ch'ing," *i.e.* Yunnan Fu (*Y.S.* ch. 61). "Mêng Chieh Road.— In the 3rd year of *t'ai-ting* (1326 A.D.), the southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu requested the (Yünnan) authorities to guard it. There were set up the two *fu* of Mu An and Mêng Chieh at this place." (*Y.S.* ch. 61). Mêng Ch'ing is not mentioned here, but is given under Pa-pai-ta-tien in ch. 46 of the *Ming-shih*.

335. *Ibid.* 1st year of *chih-ho*, 5th month, *chi-ssŭ* day. 哀招 Ai Chao.

336. Ch. 32, 1st year of *t'ien-li*, 9th month, *hsin-wei* day. Mêng Ting Road (see n. 176).

337. *Ibid.* 10th month *ting-wei* day. 銀羅甸 Yin-lo *tien* query for Yin-sha-lo (see n. 333)? 哀贊 Ai Tsan.

338. *Ibid.* *Hsin-hai* day. 徹里 Ch'ê-li Road (note old first character). 刁賽 Tiao Sai.

339. *Ibid.* 1st year of *t'ien-li*, 11th month, *kuei-yu* day. 昭哀 Chao Ai. 屍放 Ni Fang. 也必姑 Pi-yeh-ku.

340. Ch. 33, 2nd year, 2nd month, *hsin ch'ou* day. 阿三木 A-san-mu. 蒙通蒙算甸 Mêng T'ung (and) Mêng Suan *tien*. 哀放 Ai

Fang. 開南 K'ai-nan (see n. 154).

341. *Ibid. I-mao* day. 宣慰司 *hsüan-wei-ssŭ*. 都元帥府 *tu-yüan-shuai-fu*. 銀沙羅甸 Yin-sha-lo *tien*.

342. *Ibid. Ting-ch'ou* day. Mêng Ting Road (see n. 176, 336).

343. Ch. 35, 2nd year of *chih-shun*, 5th month, *chi-ch'ou* day. 孟肩路 Mêng Yuan Road. 者線 Chê-hsien. Mêng Ch'ing *tien* (see n. 334). 孟併 Mêng Ping. 孟廣 Mêng Kuang. 者樣甸 Chê-yang *tien*. "Mêng Kuang Road military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61. I wonder if Mêng Yüan Road is the 孟絹 Mêng Chüan Road mentioned under Pa-pai-ta-tien in the *Ming-shih*, ch. 46, as "set up in the 1st year of *yüan-t'ung* of the Yüan (1333 A.D.) and placed under Pa-pai *hsüan-wei-ssŭ*." Is Chêhsien 景線 Ching Hsien, (Chieng Sen?).

344. Ch. 40, 1st year of *chih-chêng*, 12th month, *jên-hsü* day. 寒賽刀 Han Sai-tao. 脫脫木兒 T'o-t'o-mu-êrh.

345. *Ibid.* 2nd year, 4th month, *chi-yu* day. 蒙慶 Mêng Ch'ing *hsüan-wei-ssŭ* (see n. 334, 343).

346. Ch. 41, 6th year, 12th month, *chia-wu* day. 八百 Pa-pai (= Pa-pai-hsi-fu). 韓部 Han Pu.

347. *Ibid.* 7th year, 1st month, *kêng-shên* day. 老丫 Lao Ya. 耿凍路 Kêng-tung Road (perhaps the present Kengtung State). In the *Ming-shih*, ch. 46, under Ch'ê-li, "there is also the Kêng-tung Road of the Yüan dynasty, set up in the 1st month of the 7th year of *chih-chêng* (1347 A.D.); also the two 州 *chou* of 耿當 Kêng-tang and 孟弄 Mêng Lung, which were also set up at the end of the Yüan dynasty. In the 15th year of *hung-wu* (1382 A.D.), all were reduced and merged in Ch'ê-li." Cf. *TSFYCY*, ch. 119, p. 4733.

SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY (WITH ABBREVIATIONS)

CHINESE.[1]

A. 元史 *Yüan-shih* (*Y.S.*) of 宋濂 Sung Lien, etc. Completed in 1370 A.D. (see n. 269, *infra*), 210 *chüan*. – I have used various editions, but generally follow the Pai-na edition, with its pre-Manchu writings of Central Asian names.

B. 明史 *Ming-shih* of 張廷玉 Chang T'ing-yü, etc., 1742 A.D., 332 *chüan*. Pai-na and other editions.

C. 蠻書 *Man-shu* of 樊綽 Fan Ch'o, 863 A.D., 10 *chüan*.– Wu-ying-tien Chü-chên-pan (moveable type) edition.

D. 讀史方輿紀要 *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao* (*TSFYCY*) of 顧祖禹 Ku Tsu-yu, 1667 A.D., 134 *chüan*. Chung-hua-shu-chü edition (in 6 bound vols., European style).

E. 滇繫 *Tien-hsi* of 師範 Shih Fan, 1807 A.D., 40 vols. – Yün-nan-t'ung-chih-chü edition of 1887.

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1. During the last war the Japanese looted all the Chinese historical works (over 20,000 volumes) in Rangoon University Library. So this article is based, I fear, on inadequate texts. I regret, in particular, the lack of the following:

(i) 守山閣叢書 *Shou-shan-ko-ts'ung-shu* of 錢熙祚 Ch'ien Hsi-tsu, 1841 (Shanghai, Po-ku-chai edition, 180 vols. 1922), which contains two anonymous works on the subject of this paper: (a) 皇元 (or 元朝) 征緬錄 *Huang-Yüan-*(or *Yüan-ch'ao-*) *chêng-mien-lu* (9 folios) – the text translated by Huber in *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 662–679. (b) 招捕總錄 *Chao-pu-tsung-lu* (12 folios) – see *infra* pp. 148-9 and n. 190.

(ii) 大明一統志 *Ta-ming-i-t'ung-chih* of 李賢 Li Hsien etc., 1461 A.D., 90 *chüan*.

(iii) 雲南通志 *Yün-nan-t'ung-chih* of 王崧 Wang Sung etc., 1835 A.D., 216 *chüan*, and the earlier encyclopaedias of the same name by 李元陽 Li Yüan-yang, 郭爾泰 O-êrh-t'ai, etc.

BURMESE.

A. *Inscriptions of Burma.* Portfolios I-V, containing 609 collotype plates of inscriptions arranged chronologically down to the founding of Ava, 726*s.*/1364 A.D. – G.H. Luce and Pe Muang Tin–Oxford University Press. Nearly all references to inscriptions in this article are given to these portfolios. Thus, *e.g.*, in n. 6 "Pl. II 113^{14}, 50/7*s.*" means that the word in question may be found in Portfolio II, Plate No. 113, line 14, under date 507 *sakarāja.* Add 638 (= 1145) to get the approximate year in the Christian era.

B. *A List of Inscriptions found in Burma, Part I* (all published) 1921. Government Press, Rangoon. – Inscriptions not contained in A *supra*, are referred to where possible, under *List.* Thus, in n. 10 "List $1084a^{5}$, 955*s.*" means that the word in question is to be found, under date 955 *sakarāja* (1593 A.D.), in line 5 of the obverse of the inscription numbered 1084 in *List*, where the necessary notes and references may be found.

EUROPEAN.

A. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* (*BEFEO*): (i) t. IX, n^{0} 4, oct.–déc. 1909 – *La Fin de la Dyanstie de Pagan* (pp. 633-680) par M. Édouard Huber. (In my paper I refer to this simply as 'Huber' or 'Huber's text.')

(ii) t. IV, nos. 1-2, jan. – juin 1904 – *Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIIIe siècle* (pp. 131-413) par M. Paul Pelliot.

(iii) t. XXV – *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos Occidental* (pp. 1-200) par G. Coedès.

B. *Les États Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, par G. Coedès 1948, Paris, de Boccard. (Referred to in this paper as *États hindouisés*).

C. *Variétés Sinologiques* No. 29. *Concordance des Chronologies néoméniques chinoise et européenne*, par le Rév. Père. P. Hoang, 1910, Shanghai. (Tables giving equivalents of Chinese and European dates—according to the Julian calendar so far as this article is concerned).

D. *The Cities and Towns of China, a Geographical Dictionary*, by G.M.H. Playfair, 2nd ed., 1910, Shanghai.

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G.H. Luce

POETIC TRANSLATIONS FROM THE SIAMESE

Selected Verses of Sri Praj and Sunthorn Bhu

by

M. R. Seni Pramoj

Sri Praj

ครื้น ๆ ใช่พ้าร้อง เรี่ยมครวญ
หึ่ง ๆ ใช่ลมหวล พี่ไห้
ฝนตกใช่ฝนนวล พี่ทอด ใจนา
ร้อนใช่ร้อนไฟไหม้ พี่ไหม้กลกาม

Boom, boom! Not Heaven's wrath, I moan;
Crash, crash! Not cyclone, I fret;
Pour, pour, Not rainfall, I sigh, my heart;
Fire? No fire burns yet; I burn with love.

ธรณีนี้ เป็นพยาน
เราก็ศิษย์อาจารย์ หนึ่งบ้าง
เราผิดท่านประหาร เราชอบ
เราบ่ผิดท่านมล้าง ดาบนี้คนสนอง *

Bear me witness, ye Earth,
Spite not God's image in man.
If wrong I did, let this sword fall true and sharper,
If wronged I am, let it strike back the striker.

---

* This is the great poet's last and most famous verse, written when he was about to be beheaded. Tied to a block, with both hands lashed behind him, he used his toe to inscribe it in the sand.

Sunthorn Bhu

รักกันอยู่ขอบฟ้า เขาเขียว
เสมออยู่หอแห่งเดียว ร่วมห้อง
ชังกันบ่แลเหลียว ตาต่อ กันนา
เหมือนขอบฟ้ามาบ้อง ป่าไม้มาบัง

Though divided by sky and sea,
Love brings thy lover to thee forever.
But distant is one whom thou would hate,
As if the sky were cleft asunder, though Heaven be one.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bertha Blount McFarland, *McFarland of Siam.* Vantage Press, New York, 1958. 313 pages, including index, 32 pages of illustrations.

Dr. George Bradley McFarland (1866-1942) was born in Siam in the reign of Rama IV. There he grew to manhood and served the Siamese Government, which gave him the title of Phra Ach Vidyagama อำมาตย์เอก พระอาจวิทยาคม for thirty-five years, He died in Bangkok in the reign of Rama VIII. Single-handed, Dr. McFarland brought modern medical education to birth in Siam. On January first, 1892, at the age of twenty-five, he became head of the new Siriraj Hospital, and on April first of the same year he started the medical school there. Two years earlier, Dr. T. Hayward Hays, physician to H.M. Rama V and to the Royal Navy, had made an attempt to teach a class of medical students, and had failed. The drama in this biography of Dr. McFarland lies in the struggle of the subject to overcome the almost insuperable difficulties that stood in the way of medical education.

Those who are interested in the history of medicine in Siam will welcome this detailed and accurate description of medical concepts and treatment that were in vogue about 1890-1895. Some of the obstacles to medical education along Western lines during that period were very great. Students had little more than a primary education, and they had no assurance that their services would be desired after their graduation. The new medical school lacked not only a library and textbooks in Siamese, but also an adequate Simese medical vocabulary. At the beginning, Dr. McFarland's private surgical instruments were its only equipment. Moreover, the government was by no means committed wholeheartedly to modern or Western medicine; to surgery, perhaps, but not to medicine. The school was provided, therefore, with a faculty of traditional medicine headed by a Serene Highness, a faculty intent upon maintaining its position and traditions. Patients, too, were wary of foreign remedies.

This was a situation that called for considerable tact and understanding. Fortunately, because of his upbringing, Dr. McFarland was extraordinarily well-fitted for his task as principal of the Medical School. The son of a Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. S.G. McFarland, he had learned early in life the provincial language of Petchaburi. In 1878, his father was asked by H.M. King Rama V to become head of the first government school for boys, established that year at Suan Anand in Thonburi. Here young George studied for five years, becoming thoroughly grounded in the Siamese language. After graduation he gained teaching experience by serving for eighteen months as an instructor in English at the school. As a student and then as a teacher he formed life-long friendships with Suan Anand pupils who later became government officials. Earlier, he had served for a time as interpreter for a young missionary doctor, E.A. Sturge, M.D., and in this way acquired a knowledge of the needs, comprehension, and reactions of simple villagers who came in for medical treatment. As for a Siamese medical vocabulary, George's father had written and published an English-Siamese dictionary, revising it from time to time, so that young George grew up alert to words and definitions, and thereby developed his competence to coin medical terms when they were needed. His own Siamese-English dictionary, which appeared in 1941, and which contains 35,000 words, took sixteen years to compile.

The young head of the Medical School succeeded because he could speak the language of the nobility and of the villagers, because he understood and loved the Siamese, and in part, perhaps, because he had numerous personal friends in government service. Within a few years his graduates were in demand by various government departments, and the school, having proved its usefulness, was allowed to expand. By 1923, H.R.H. Prince Mahidol had interested the Rockefeller Foundation in providing the Medical School with both staff members and funds, thus enabling it to enter the modern era as a Medical University.

Dr. McFarland early distinguished himself as the first to practice Western dentistry in Bangkok, He set up a dental office at the corner of New Road and Burapha, and in time he developed there the McFarland Typewriter Company which introduced the first Siamese typewriter in the country, a machine devised by his brother Edwin. He followed many interests in his long career, and played an active role in the development of Bangkok from 1892 until World War II. He lived to see the Royal Medical College, the school he had founded, observe its fiftieth anniversary.

Bertha Blount McFarland, the second wife of Dr. McFarland, was well-qualified by experience and temperament to write this biography. She came to Siam in 1908, and after the retirement of Miss Edna S. Cole she became principal of Wattana Wittaya Academy. She possessed a good sense of history, and she loved Siam. It is also very clear that she loved her husband, yet in discussing both subjects she has been able to maintain a commendable objectivity. Because of her long acquaintance with Siam she was able to understand and transcribe correctly her husband's account of medical progress in the decades before she reached Bangkok. She assisted him in the compilation of his dictionary, and helped him to edit the *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam, 1828-1928*. After his death in 1942, she wrote *Our Garden Was So Fair*, a tribute to her husband and a memoir of their life at "Holyrood," 13 Sathorn Road. Upon leaving Siam she made this property available to the YWCA at a very low figure.

One has the feeling that *McFarland of Siam* is the last book of its kind. There will not be another quite like it. It is a narrative that covers a period of radical change during three reigns. In it moves a figure who was both educator and innovator. This story of his life and times is written with the vividness of an eyewitness who was deeply moved by what she saw.

K.E. Wells

John Alexander Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine.* Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, 1956. Pages xv, 194, with 142 plates.

John Alexander Pope of the Freer Gallery of Art needs no introduction to the collector of Chinese porcelains. His research on the blue-and-white wares of the Ming period has not only established his reputation but has also opened new fields for the study of China's ceramic art. Mr. Pope has pursued his specialty into some exotic settings, far removed from the homeland of the Chinese potter. The need to search so far afield becomes at once evident, however, when it is recalled that great quantities of Chinese porcelain, even from the Sung period if not earlier, were made for export and consequently were carried to odd corners of Asia, and eventually to Europe. In some of these distant places magnificent collections were assembled over the years, a few of which have come down to modern times almost completely intact. Some years ago Mr. Pope undertook a study of one of these, the vast accumulation of Chinese porcelains, numbering some ten thousand pieces, which was collected by the Sultans of Turkey and which is now housed in the Topkapu Sarayi Müzesi in Istanbul.*

The present book is the result of Mr. Pope's survey of another unique but less well known collection which was assemled on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea in what is now Iran, 4,000-odd miles from the kilns which produced these wares.

This is the Ardebil collection, brought together largely by Shah Abbās the Great of the Safavid Dynasty. On August 28, 1611, Shah Abbās bestowed his treasured pieces of Chinese porcelain, along with his jewels, books, gold and silver vessels, horses and camels, and other worldly possesisons to the Shi-ite community as a dedicatory gift to the Ardebil Shrine, the

* **John Alexander Pope,** *Fourteenth Century Blue-and-White, a Group of Chinese Porcelains in the Topkapu Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul,* **Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, 1952.**

mortuary mosque of Sheikh Safī, the Sūfī saint, whose descendants established the Safavid line.

The fact that a collection of Chinese porcelains formed such an important part of this dedication proclaims the veneration with which the ceramics of China were regarded by Shah Abbās. The dedicatory porcelains were placed in a special building called the Chīnī-khāneh, or China House, which adjoined the prayer hall of the mosque. The walls inside the China House were constructed to form tiers of niches in which the porcelain pieces were kept on display to arouse the admiration, piety and awe of pilgrims visiting the Ardebil Shrine.

According to the original inventory, the Ardebil collection totalled 1,162 items of porcelain: bowls, plates, jars, wine cups, ewers, and various other vessels and utensils. The inventory included 32 *Martabān* pieces, a term used in Iran and throughout the Near Eastern world to indicate celadon, but which had had its origin in the name of the old Peguan port of Martaban at the mouth of the Salween River in southeast Burma, from which considerable quantities of celadon as well as other wares, including the so called Martaban jars, were trans-shipped to India, the Near East and elsewhere.

Mr. Pope devotes a chapter to a survey of the routes by which the porcelains of the Ardebil Shrine may have reached Iran from China. While an occasional piece may have been a present to some Iranian or Turkic visitor to China, most of these pieces, in the author's opinion, were most likely brought to Iran as trade goods. The problem of establishing the old trade routes is a difficult one, and evidence for the overland routes is especially meager. The author cites, however, some brief but illuminating references to Chinese porcelains from such historical curiosa as the diary of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, who headed an embassy from Henry III of Castile to the court of Timūr at Samarqand in 1402-1406, and the travel journal of Timūr's son and successor, Shah Rokh, who visited the court of Peking in 1419-1422, as well

as from a number of contemporary Persian and Arabic documents. The sea route, however, was undoubtedly more important, as the writings of the Chinese historian Chao Ju-kua and the accounts of Cheng Ho's memorable voyages to the Far West in the early part of the 15th century so abundantly illustrate. But in this period it was the Arab traders rather than the Chinese who were the carriers of these precious cargoes.

While the author has not discussed the point, Siam also played an important part in this ceramic trade. After its founding as the capital of the largest and most powerful Thai kingdom, the fabulous city of Ayuthia developed into a noted commercial entrepôt, where porcelains and other Chinese wares were exchanged and then trans-shipped overland to the then-flourishing port of Mergui on the Bay of Bengal. There these goods from China were delivered to Indian, Arab and later European traders. It is conceivable, therefore, that some of the treasures which Mr. Pope examined in the Ardebil Shrine may have reached Iran by way of Ayuthia and Mergui.

Any serious collector of Chinese ceramics would do well to read carefully the challenging chapter which Mr. Pope has modestly entitled "Marginalia on the Study of Ming Porcelain." His penetrating evaluation of the Chinese literary sources which have been exploited so freely but uncritically will prove distressing to those who have traditionally accepted these works as infallible guides. The two most widely used and accepted fountains of authority, the *T'ao-shuo* (陶說) and the *Ching-te Chen T'ao-lu* (景德鎮陶錄), were composed by gentlemen and scholars in the best Chinese tradition, but, as Mr. Pope reminds us, "like others of their ilk they had a wide variety of interests, and the fact that each wrote a book on porcelain does not necessarily mean that they specialized in that subject." Such Chinese writers probably collected ceramics in a casual sort of way, but they had no real opportunities to examine large collections as the modern collector or scholar is able to do. Much of their information on porcelains was probably gained from hearsay

or from random references to the products of certain kilns which they culled from local histories and gazetteers. Such writers were essentially dilettantes, albeit engaging ones, and Mr. Pope has fittingly described the character of their scholarship in terms of "comfortable evenings spent over a few pots of the yellow wine of Shao-hsing when they and their friends wrote verses, painted landscapes, and passed around for admiration a newly acquired bowl, maybe a K'ang-hsi piece or perhaps on rare occasions, one dating back as far as one of the Ming reigns." Although these sources serve a useful purpose for the study of Chinese wares, it is essential to take into account the circumstances in which they were written and to heed Mr. Pope's warning that "the time has long since passed when anything is to be gained by trying to force the Ming porcelain we know today into the patterns outlined by these gentlemen and scholars of the Ming and Ch'ing."

The portions of this chapter which deal with the "Imperial" wares and the beginnings of blue-and-white are equally illuminating if disillusioning to those who have become attached to the venerable shibboleths which have plagued the study of Chinese ceramics. For example, Mr. Pope succinctly unravels the confusion which has grown up around the Chinese term for blue-and-white as a result of persistent misinterpretion of the word *ch'ing-pai* (青白), which should be translated "blue white" or "bluish white," and which properly applies to one of the Ching-te Chen wares known by the modern term *ying-ch'ing* (影青). The correct word for blue-and-white is *ch'ing-hua* (青花), which means "blue decoration," and with this important key the author has been able to trace the earliest known Chinese reference to blue-and-white in a description of some of the Yüan wares which appeared in a section of the *Ko-ku-yao-lun* (格古要論).

Since Chinese blue-and-white is Mr. Pope's abiding speciality, the large number of such pieces in the Ardebil Shrine afforded an unusual opportunity to analyze the types,

shapes and decorations of this ware by periods. The bulk of the book is therefore a survey of the evolution of blue-and-white from the 14th to the 16th century. By the middle of the 14th century, blue-and-white, the true antecedents of which still remain unknown, had emerged as a distinct group of wares, powerfully conceived and boldly decorated in brilliant blues. After 1400 an era of refinement of shape and delicacy of design began, which was perfected and sustained throughout the 15th century when the production and export of Chinese ceramics reached prodigious proportions. It was during this period that blue-and-white eclipsed in popularity the long-standing demand for celadon in the overseas markets. By the beginning of the 16th century, however, relentless demand for quantity production, combined with that inevitable tendency which eventually overtakes every art to become stereotyped and moribund, led to over-sophistication, the substitution of technique for taste, and the unimaginative exploitation of stock-in-trade decorative motifs, such as the dragon, phoenix, lotus, plum, pine and bamboo. Deterioration was further accelerated by the maritime trade which demanded new styles and those more spectacular forms of decoration which were later to excite the world through the wares of the Shun-chih and K'ang-hsi periods.

In addition to blue-and-white, the Ardebil Shrine also contained a considerable number of white wares, both plain and with patterns incised under the glaze, along with a few unusual polychrome and monochrome pieces. There were only some fifty-odd pieces of celadon in the Ardebil Shrine, compared with over 1,300 in the Topkapu Sarayi in Istanbul, but the celadon pieces at Ardebil with the incomparable *kinuta* glaze have characteristics suggesting a Sung origin. Considering the magical powers traditionally associated with celadon in India and other parts of Asia, it is surprising that more of this ware did not form part of the Ardebil collection. The explanation may lie in the particular taste of Shah Abbās, as well as the fact that his collection was made during the period when blue-and-white was

at the height of its popularity among collectors and connoisseurs in this part of the world.

Mr. Pope offers a chapter on the curious use of non-Chinese marks found on the porcelains in the Ardebil Shrine. Most of the pieces bear dedicatory inscriptions related to Shah Abbās' gift to the Mosque. Other marks suggest a previous ownership, while some pieces have been inscribed with symbols which defy all attempts to decipher them. One method in making these marks was to cut the Persian script in the glaze, surround the writing with a kind of cartouche, and rub a red pigment into the engraving to cause the letters and rectangular border to stand out against the white ground. Another method was to form the letters by drilling a series of small holes through the glaze. On a few pieces the Chinese potters themselves had painted Persian words in underglaze blue on the sides of the vessels, plainly indicating thereby that such pieces were made especially for the Near Eastern trade.

Plates 69 and 97 illustrate several interesting *narghili* bottles found in the Ardebil Shrine, two of which are in the unusual forms of a frog and an elephant. These rather squat, bulbous vessels with mammiform spouts and narrow, cylindrical necks, flared at the lip, are a type of drinking utensil the unique shape of which is probably of considerable antiquity. The 5th century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa Hsien tells us that he carried such a vessel on his travels but was forced to throw it overboard on the voyage between Singhala and Javadvipa in order to lighten the ship during a storm. In Sanskrit this type of water pitcher is called a *kuṇḍikâ*, which was the term used by Fa Hsien in its sinofied form. The vessel was apparently popular in India from ancient times and was carried by Indian traders and settlers to various parts of Southeast Asia. The Malay term for this peculiar vessel is *kendi*, derived from the *kundi* of *kuṇḍikâ*. The term *narghili* used by most Western writers is taken from the Persian word *nārgīleh*, meaning a water pipe, or *hookah*, as this smoking utensil is also called. The use

of this term would suggest that this type of vessel was employed as a pipe for smoking tobacco in the Near Eastern fashion of cooling the smoke through water. The use of the *kuṇḍikâ* as a drinking vessel in India and elsewhere, however, far antedates the advent of tobacco in this part of the world and the word *nārgīleh* was undoubtedly misapplied to these drinking vessels by some ill-informed Western traveller in the East, as so often has proved the origin of other misused terms. *Narghili* bottles were not in common use in China, being made essentially for the export trade to Southeast Asia, India and the Near East. The Thai potters of the 14th and 15th centuries also specialized in the manufacture and export of these peculiar vessels, and some superb examples from the Sawankalok kilns can be seen in the Djakarta Museum.

In addition to the 142 plates, Mr. Pope's book contains an appendix giving detailed statistics on the Ardebil Shrine, a substantial bibliography, and a comprehensive index. The binding, paper, typography and the quality of the plates and drawings are a tribute to the Smithsonian Institution.

Charles Nelson Spinks

Granet, Jaques, *Les aspects économiques du Bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du Ve au Xe siecle.* Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Paris, 1956. 321 pages of text with 10 photographs of various Chinese monastic documents from the 8th to the 10th century A.D.

The author is well known as a learned Sinologist as well as a scholar of Buddhism under its Mahayanistic form. The volume under review is a very important contribution to our knowledge of the powerful economic rôle which Buddhism played in ancient China during the reigning dynasties of the Tsin, Northern Wei, Nan Pei, Tchao, Tchen, and Sui, culminating in the time of the Tang dynasty (618-907). Thereafter Buddhism declined in importance, partly due to its celibate institutions of monasteries with numerous monks and nuns, which, as a matter of fact, is contrary to the fundamental Chinese outlook on life, and partly to the degenerated morals of the monks. Monsieur Granet's book is an extremely well-written and interesting document which all students of Buddhism ought to read carefully and reflect upon its contents. It is a real *embarras de richesse.* In his introduction the author says that the spirit of mercantilism and even the practice of usury among the monks played an important rôle in the decline of Buddhism in old China. The church of Hinayana or of the Southern Buddhism has in this respect a much cleaner record. Buddhism came relatively late to China but evidently caught the imagination of the gentry as well as that of the general population, so that the number of monks and places of cult quickly reached high figures. To cite a few examples: During the reign of the dynasty of the Northern Wei (386-534 A.D.) there were 47 great monasteries built by the state, 839 built by princes and the gentry, and no less than 30,000 built by the common people. And at the end of the reign

of the dynasty of the Eastern Tsin (420 A.D.) there were 1768 monasteries with 24,000 monks and nuns in the realm. During the period of the Southern Nan Pei Tchao dynasty (420-587 A.D.) there were 1232 monasteries with 32,000 monks and nuns, while during the reign of the Northern dynasty of the Nan Pei Tchao, no less than 40,000 monasteries with a population of three million monks and nuns! During the era of the Tang dynasty (618-907) there were however in the year of 845 "only" 360,000 monks and nuns, living in 44,600 monasteries, of which 40,000 were quite small places. During the era of the Song dynasty (960-1279) the number of monks and nuns was 458,000. But during the era of the Yuans (the Mongol invaders, 1279-1368) their number dwindled to 213,000, living in 42,318 monasteries, mostly small ones. To treat in detail the contents of this very interesting work would demand too much space. We shall therefore content ourselves with drawing the attention to some of the more outstanding features.

Certain emperors, arriving at the conclusion that the Buddhist clergy had become too numerous and was draining the economy of the common people, took drastic measures to reduce their numbers (as well as the number of the monasteries), even, going so far as to order the monks to marry the young nuns! Emperor Wu, of the Northern Tchou dynsty, ordered, during the years 574-577, the destruction of all the stupas and the smelting down of all the sacred images (of metal). 40,000 monasteries were handed over to the princes and dukes, and all the sacred texts were burnt. However, under the pious dynasty of the Tang, Buddhism flourished again, and the number of stupas and monasteries totalled 84,000. While the male and female clergy, during the years from 534—to 574 A.D., numbered 2-3 millions, it had shrunk, in 880, to 700,000, or one percent of the population.

From the examples cited above it will be seen that the upkeep of tens of thousands of monasteries with a population of many hundred thousands of monks and nuns had become a serious problem for the economy of the Chinese people, as well as for the resources of the empire. It must, however, not be thought that Buddhism was solely a negative power. It was responsible for the progress in agriculture and garden culture, and especially for the flourishing of art (5th to 10th century A.D.), both in painting, and the development of sacred images and sculpture, besides the moral influence of the tenets of Buddhism which left a lasting impression on the Chinese people. The imperial government suffered, however, also big losses by the monks' exemption from tax payment (in the Buddhist Siam of today monasteries, with their landed property, as well as the clergy, are exempt from the payment of taxes also). During the reigns of certain emperors not favourable to Buddhism, wholesale seizure of the sacred images were made in order to obtain sufficient metal for the minting of cash. In 778 A.D., when the taxes from one million peasants were needed for the support of the Buddhist clergy, there were 300,000 monks and nuns. All of the monks and nuns should have possessed a certificate testfying to their position, but in 830 A.D. there were no less than 300,000 such persons without a certificate. This means that there must have been a great number of frauds among them living on the credulity of the public. During long periods many of the large monasteries waxed enormously rich through the munificent gifts of pious people. The monasteries were often the proprietors of extensive fields, large vegetable and fruit gardens, besides oxen, horses, sheep and carts. And often much of this property was obtained through the money-lending business when defaulters' property was seized by the monks. The Buddhist Vinaya does not forbid the monks to possess property, but it forbids their engaging in business in order to enrich themselves. During the 8th to the 9th

century A.D. the community of Buddhist clergy was in full decadence due to its increasing worldliness. The Buddhist clergy took part in the seasonal festivals of the Chinese people, and some of these festivals had their origin in Buddhism. At the spring festival, sacrifices were also made to the Earth god (the Phūm of the Thai). The rich and opulent monasteries did at times play a considerable political rôle also, which was again contrary to the Vinaya. And during this time of decadence some monks are said to have had amorous relations with ladies of the imperial court. During the 14th century, many monks, even abbots, left the monasteries for the towns, where they engaged in business.

Erik Seidenfaden

RECENT SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS

209. Yūpo, D.: *The Khōn*, โขน Saha-upakôn-kārpimp Co. Ltd., Bangkok, 2500, ill., 116 pages.

The author discusses Siamese terpsichorean art as summed up in the expression rabam-ram-ten (ระบำรำเต้น) from which he traces the earliest respective forms of the ballet, the *lakôn* and the *khōn*. Such a philological identification, while not looking very far back, is not supported by historical evidences. It is, however, acceptable, although it does not preclude the generally accepted theory of the *khōn* being derived from the shadow-play. The idea, however, of the *khōn*, and not its technique, has probably come, as the author suggests, from the old ceremony recorded in the Ayudhyā Palatine Law which depicted the old Indian myth of Vishnu churning the oceans for ambrosia, The technique, in the reviewer's opinion, came from the shadow-play.

A philological discussion of the word 'khōn' brings us nearer to Bengal, Tamil and even Iran. The Khmer word 'lakōl' is also to be considered. The development of the *khōn* in its varied successive forms of presentation began in the time of King Nārāi. The bulk of material in this book is concerned with the Bangkok period, in the early days of which only royal *khōn* existed. The plot has always been taken from the story of Rāma, although there are several successive versions to choose from. Chapters are devoted to the masks, fully illustrated and in colour; to the training required for dancers; to the *ensemble* of musical instruments; to the chorus, the clowns, etc. There is an interesting chapter, too, on how to see the *khōn* intelligently, movements and *mūdras* being indicated with regard to their significance. There is also a description of the intricate initiation into the technique of the dance with a con-

siderable number of illustrations. A chapter is devoted to giving the occasions when the *khōn* may be performed.

The work is accompanied by a good index. Considering that this is to be a work of reference, the index should be very useful.

This inclusive treatment has been drawn largely from former works on the subject by the author, namely, *Initiation for the Classic Dance*, reviewed already in Nos. 75 & 76 of the *Recent Siamese Publications*, JSS XXXIX, 2, 1952; *Siamese Choreography Explained*, No. 77 in the above-mentioned series, JSS XXXIX, 2, 1952; *The Preliminary Course of Training in Siamese Theatrical Art*, No. 120 of the series, JSS XLI, 1, 1953; *History of the Royal Khōn*, No. 98 of the series, JSS XL, 1, 1952; *The Colour and Characteristics of Khōn Masks*, No. 151, JSS XLII, 2, 1955; all this material being systemically arranged with cementings of new material into what may be called a codified whole. Anyone in search of information on the subject need but to acquire this volume alone.

210. *Jinakālamālī*: A Siamese translation of the original Pāli by S. Manavidūn, ชินกาลมาลีปกรณ์ ร.ศ.ท. แสง มนวิทูร แปล with maps and illustrations and an index, Sivaphôn Co. Ltd., B.E. 2501, 167 pages.

This XVIth century classic of Chienmai dealing with the history of Buddhism from the Master's time to its spread to Ceylon, thence to Southeast Asia and particularly to Chienmai which was the home of the original author, the monk Ratanapaññā, was known here as the *Jinakālamālini*. It was first translated into Siamese by the command of King Rāma I of the Chakri dynasty in 1794, and written down on folio as a royal edition, the Pāli text in gold letters and the translated text in yellow ochre on a black background. The late Prince Bhānurangsi, brother of King Chulalongkorn, sponsored its publication in print in 1909 in dedication to the memory of his son Prince

Siriwoṅs, at the time of the latter's cremation. In 1925, M. Coedès contributed to the *Bulletin* de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Tome XXV, parts of the Pāli text with his own French translation, calling it *Jinakālamālini* as the Siamese publication had done. These two publications have served a wide circle of scholars as material for historical research although they were not without inaccuracies in data. The present edition under review arose out of the government scheme of research into the history of the ancient capital of Chieṅsên, for which initiative the Director-General of the Fine Arts Department seems to have been largely responsible. To him and to the translator is due much credit for this scientific edition.

The translator, Dr. Manavidūn, points out in his preface many facts which have contributed to the high standard of this edition. Among his points are :—

1. The Pali text employed misleading methods of transcribing Thai names into a Palified form, no doubt for reasons of grammatical sonance, in the familiar "Doc Latin" fashion of the middle ages in Europe, thus the name of King "Sênmüaṅmā" becomes Lakkhapurāgama.

2. Examination of the source-material of the original Pāli.

3. The Pāli diction of the original.

4. Ratanapaññā's familiarity with historical events in the Lānnā Kingdom centred round its capital of Chieṅmai in contrast with his vague and often inaccurate knowledge of the history of her neighbours such as Sukhodaya.

5. The date of the work itself which Dr. Manavidūn fixes at B.E. 2062 (1517 Chr. era), though there are additional parts bringing the date down to some 11 years later.

6. The last point, obviously quite important, is that of the name of the work. As pointed out above, it has been known

as the *Jinakālamālinī* and thus accepted by all scholars. It is to the credit of Dr. Manavidūn, however, that he has been able to detect an error in naming. Noting that the Pali was always *Jinakālamālī*, his closer scrutiny of the title on the cover revealed the following wording:

หนังสือชินกาลมาลีนี้ ๕ ผูก ๑๔ ฯ

which wording really meant *This* (the last syllable *nī*) Jinakālamālī is made up of 5 bundles and 14 extra leaves." It will thus be seen that the last syllable of what had been mistaken for the name was really an indicative pronoun, which in the fashion of northern calligraphy very often dropped the tonal mark which is invariably indicated in the Siamese of the south.

As for the narrative translated, pages 1-153, perhaps it may be of interest to give the following brief analysis of content:

Salutation	pages 1-2;
Former lives of Siddhattha the Gotama in which he accumulated merit in order to become the Buddha	3-24;
The Buddha's ancestors	25-28;
Birth and early life of Siddhattha	29-34;
Enlightenment, mission and death, including a claim (probably on the part of the Ceylon historian from whose work Ratanapañña derived this part of his narration) that the Buddha implanted his foot on Mount Sumana (Adam's Peak)	34-42;
Distribution of the Buddha's crematory ashes	42-44;
Comparisons in the lives of the Buddhas	44-46;
The first three Holy Synods	46-52;

Buddhism introduced into Ceylon 52-68;

The Master's teaching written down for the first time in B.E. 450 68-69;

Political History of Ceylon 70-79;

Buddhaghosa translated the Tipitaka written down in Siṅhalese back into Pali 80-81;

(At this point the narrative is transferred to the Lānnā kingdom of the Thai)

Cāmadevi sent from Lavo to the north and founded Haripuñjaya, and the history of her line 81-92;

Meṅrāi, hero of Lānnā and founder of Chieṅmai 92-94;

The dynasty of Meṅrai and their patronage of Buddhism, in which period is included the introduction of Siṅhalese Theravādin Buddhism from Ceylon which finally became the national religion of the Thai 94-153.

Dr. Manavidun's translation is copiously annotated. The footnotes give references and elucidations of Buddhist technical terms in the traditional manner of Siṅhalese Buddhism which has been adopted here from the time of the Monk Sumana in the XIIIth century. The work is supplemented by an enumeration of the dates of the dynasty of Meṅrāi from the latter's birth in B.E. 1783 (1240), to the time of Ratanapañña's writing the *Jinakālamālī* about the accession of King Kesklao; and a comparative table of the above dates with those given in Phrayā Prajākič's *Ponsāwadār Yonok*. Here the names of the kings are given in Thai; but the Pāli forms might have been also given for identification to save referring back every time a student comes across them.

The index is a welcome feature usually lacking in even authoritative works of reference in Siamese. The illustrations

are good photographs of archeological sites and number no less than 54. The maps also form a feature often not to be found even in works of reference of great value such as those of the late Prince Damrong. They are (1) Siam and neighbouring lands, (2) Anurādhapura, which is referred to copiously in this book (pp. 52-80) which deals with Buddhism in Ceylon, (3) Modern Siam and (4) The ancient city of Chieṅsên.

The undertaking to translate and publish an important work like the *Jinakālamālī* is to be applauded, for even though works of great scientific merit like Coedès' article referred to above exists, the present volume has shown that a closer examination can still yield fresh results that are well worth the attention of scholars.

211. Fine Arts Department: *The painting and artistic objects in the vault of the stupa of wat Rājabūrna in Ayudhyā*, จิตรกรรมและศิลปวัตถุในกรุพระปรางค์วัดราชบูรณะ จังหวัดพระนครศรีอยุธยา Sivaṕôn Co. Ltd., Bangkok, B.E. 2500, ill. 88 pages.

In reviewing recent Siamese publications for the *Journal*, it has been the reviewer's object never as far as possible to waste printing space with superfluous platitudes. Regarding this pamphlet, however, as well as in the case of the foregoing publication also of the Fine Arts Department, it would be difficult to eliminate words of real praise of the academic mind of the new Director-General of the Department in his undertaking. While the new edition of the *Jinakālamālī* serves academic purposes, this pamphlet on the vault of the stupa of wat Rājabūrna, while written with academic knowledge and skill, has the additional fascination of a romance as well, owing to the unexpected circumstances of its discovery. The book is a collection of articles, each one of which is written by an expert in his particular field. These are: a summary of the history of Ayudhyā leading up to the time when wat Rājabūrna was built by King Boromarājādhirāj II in dedication to his brothers both of whom died in an elephant

duel to contest the throne in 1424, with a drawing of a typical stupa of the *prāṅg* type, its various composite sections being indicated; an article by the Chief of the Museum and Archeological section giving a general survey of the site; a report by the Deputy Director-General of Fine Arts on the discovery and excavation carried out in consequence; an article by Professor S. Birasri on the significance of the new discovery with regard to the technique of the murals; an article by Luaṅ Boribāl Buribhand, Curator Emeritus of the National Museum, on Ayudhyā plastic art; an article on the tradition of former Buddhas by Dr. Manavidūn; a discussion of ancient headdresses by J. Yūdī; epigraphic notes discovered there by C. Ṭôṅkamwan; and a short note on the royal regalia, models of which were found among other treasures in the vault.

The work is copiously illustrated, the coloured reproductions of the murals of the vault being particularly beautiful. It may be of interest to mention that Prof. Birasri admits that the former theory of coloured murals dating from the middle of the XVIth century will have to be revised and shifted back some 120 years.

212. King Chulalongkorn: *Protocol of the Royal Family of Siam*, ธรรมเนียมราชตระกูลในกรุงสยาม King Mongkut Academy Press, Bangkok, 2501, 64 pages.

In her lifetime the late Princess Athorn had been a regular supporter of wat Bovoranives, because of the great veneration she entertained for its chief abbot, His Holiness the Patriarch, Kromaluaṅ Vajirañāṇavoṇs. On the occasion, therefore, of the cremation of the late Princess' remains, the monks of that monastery, being anxious to show their gratitude, decided to publish some useful literary piece as a memorial to her. They knew that on the spiritual side a book on the Patriarch's writings on Buddhism was being already arranged for publication. It seemed, therefore, that something of a more temporal nature would be suitable, and they expressed a wish to the Director-

General of the Fine Arts Department for some work written by King Chulalongkorn, the late Princess' father, might be selected for them from the National Library, provided that it was something which had not been published before. Though it was felt that His late Majesty's works had been already exhausted, a typewritten memorandum which the King wrote in 1878, entitled as above, was discovered among the dossier transferred in 1932 from the office of the King's Private Secretary. After due consideration it was accepted for publication.

The royal author commences by pointing out that the Royal Family of Siam differed in one essential respect from those of monarchical communities, even of such a near neighbour as the Laos. The difference lies in the fact that the system here inculcates a successive reduction of royal status from one generation to another so that in four generations the royal status disappears. Thus the second generation, the children of the sovereign, are royal highnesses, whether *čaofā* or *ṕra-oṅ-čao*; the third are *ṕra-oṅ-čao* or *momčao*; and the fourth, though retaining a distinction of *mom rajawoṅs*, are no longer royal and enjoy neither privileges-nor the disadvantages sometimes of exal-positions—of royalty. The royal author then makes comparisons of terminology between the custom when he wrote this with those of the Palatine Law of Ayudhyā. One main item of difference is that in Ayudhyā the children of the sovereign, with the exception of the Crown Prince, when grown up were to be sent to govern provinces in accordance with their respective dignity, the higher ones being given the more important provinces like Ṕisnulok and Nakon Rājasimā. It was from this custom that the term *čaofā* probably arose. It is still used in the same sense in the Shan states, though it no longer conveys a governorship here.

The institution of a *krom* is then gone into at length. This might have superseded the system of appointing princes to governorships of provinces, for the assumption of a *krom* meant originally that the prince was put in command of a company of

officialdom. In such a case a *čaokrom* was expected to be appointed by the prince with a name given for him by royal command, and the *krom* would then be known as the company of such and such a *čaokrom*. Following up the royal author's example, when Pra-oň-cao Kridabhinihār, one of the elder sons of King Mongkut was appointed to assume a *krom*, the *čaokrom*'s name was decreed to be Mun Nares. The King points out here that to be quite logical the Prince should have continued to sign his correspondence, etc., with his personal name, Kridabhinihār, and not Nares, which was only the name of the *čaokrom* under him; but former princes of *krom* rank had for some reason or another been signing with the name of the *čaokrom* and perhaps Prince Kridabhinihār did not quite like to break away from the usage of his elder relatives. Other princes of the fourth reign also adhered to the usage. Starting with his own sons, King Chulalongkorn decreed that they were to adopt the logical course and sign themselves with their personal names which they had borne before their assumption of a *krom*. Thus Prince Wan Waithayakon on the assumption of a *krom*, and becoming Prince of the *krom* in which the chief was Mün Naradhip, was correct in signing Wan Waithayakon (although it is understood that he only did this in foreign correspondence in order not to lose his identity among foreigners), while signing himself Naratip in Siamese correspondence. It is possible that King Chulalongkorn may have been aware too that his reasoning coincided with the practice among royalties of foreign courts, where for instance the Duke of Edinburgh would be signing himself Philip and not Edinburgh.

King Chulalongkorn went on to say with regard to the consorts that here, as with some of the western royalties, a consort does not become royal unless she has been born such. That was why they were called *mom* which was a short way of saying *momhām*. No translation into English of this term seems to have been generally adopted; and very often princess has been used, though it would not be correct in view of this definition.

It should be noted that since this was written a good many modifications of the ruling have been necessitated, as anticipated by the royal author, on account of the diminution of the Royal Family.

213. Sibpan Sonakul, M.C.; *Thai History: Bangkok period, part I* ประวัติศาสตร์ไทยสมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ยุคแรก Sivaphôn Co. Ltd., B.E. 2501, 78 pages.

In 1952 the Thai Government appointed a commission to write a new history of the Thai nation. The commission divided the subject matter into the following sections:

The Thai prior to their entering Southeast Asia;

The Thai in Southeast Asia, including the kingdom of Sukhodaya;

Ayudhyā I. From its founding to the end of the reign of King Boromatrailok;

Ayudhyā II. From where that left off to the reign of Prāsād Thôn;

Ayudhyā III. From the reign of Nārāi to the conquest of Ayudhyā;

Interregnum and the period of Dhonburi;

Bangkok I. The first three reigns, being the volume under review;

Bangkok II. The same period dealing with topics of internal administration, arts and literature, and relationship with China and the West.

The work under review is the first instalment to be published, though it is the last but one of the series. The commission invites criticism and suggestions from the public before the whole series is finally published. Its contents are (1) the establishment of Bangkok as the capital, and biographies of the first three kings and the corresponding three princes of the Palace to the Front; (2) wars with Burma; (3) relationship with Vietnam,

a chapter in which commendable research and scholarship are evident, the subject being hitherto untouched in detail in other histories except those written in French; (4); relationships with other neighbours, Cambodia, Lao, Lānnā; and (5) Malaya. A short survey of successive migrations is appended of the Khmer, Vietnamese, Laos and Môn into this country for political refuge.

214. Dhaninivat, Prince: *The Cultural Reconstruction of Rama I* พระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธยอดฟ้าทรงฟื้นฟูวัฒนธรรม with a reproduction of his article in English from the JSS XLIII, 1 entitled *The Reconstruction of Rama I of the Cakri Dynasty*, Pračand Press, Bangkok, B.E. 2500, ill., 93/27 pages.

The main purpose of the series called "Recent Siamese Publications" in this *Journal* is to acquaint members of the Society, especially those who do not read Siamese with ease, with the existence of new Siamese publications. As a rule the object is accomplished through giving a review and a notice of such books. In the present instance, however, the reviewer is also author of the work. He will therefore be content merely with giving a notice of it, refraining of course from giving a review or any opinion. His duty by the *Journal* will thereby be accomplished without any valuation of the work's merit or otherwise.

Rama I has been generally accepted as typical of the soldier-statesman through the wars he fought, at first for his master, the King of Dhonburi, and through his own administration of the Kingdom before as well as after he was entrusted with the throne of Siam. His cultural reforms however have not been very much noticed. Fortunately, records exist not only in history but also in the preambles of his laws and in the prefaces of most of the pieces of literature which came into existence through his initiative and encouragement. The reconstruction was a pressing need which had been recognised at the time. Burmese attempts at reconquest, however, prevented the full attention of King Rama I in his programme

of cultural reforms; and yet it is amazing that he should have been able to carry out so much of it.

The reconstruction is here treated under three headings, customs in connection mostly with state ceremonies, conditions of the Buddhist Church, civil administration and arts and letters.

Under the first heading, he carried out many reforms by appointing commissions to study what had been the practice of the Court in the days of Ayudhyā and to recommend what should be adopted. One of the most important of state ceremonies was naturally that of the coronation. This ceremony was not looked upon as merely an aggrandisement of the sovereign's status but rather as a contract between the sovereign and his people for due prosperity of the Kingdom.

Under the second heading, the King commenced by restoring as far as possible the fragments of the Buddhist Canon, the *Tipitaka*, in order to form a whole as it no doubt existed in the heyday of the Ayudhyan regime. Having thus established the *codex* of spiritual authority, he saw to it, as may be seen from the numerous decrees issued, that not only the clergy but also the administrators of the government should be bound to conform thereto. He also made it a point that the administration should set a moral example by their conduct.

Under the third heading it will be seen that he proceeded in the same way as had been the case in the Church. He appointed a commission to study the law as it existed and to draw up a new *codex* of temporal standards of governance. A discussion is given of the probable origin of Buddhist Laws of Southeast Asia as it was accepted for Siam.

If the revised edition of the *Tipitaka* of 1788 and the *Law Codex* of 1805 have been generally acknowledged to be the main feats of Rama I's administration, his literary revivals have not

received their due share of honour. The King in fact not only led the way in this revival by composing some literary classics such as the *Rāmakien*, but encouraged his friends and associates to write many important pieces, whilst foreign literary pieces of importance were translated by the King's command. The survey under review has taken note of almost all the best known works brought into existence by the initiative and encouragement of the King. His artistic revivals have not been neglected either.

The book concludes with a note on the King's personality, for this contributed largely to the success of the cultural as well as the administrative reconstruction. Nature bestowed on him a large amount of wisdom, integrity and good health. His was a strong physical and equally strong mental energy. Through his invariably sound understanding of human nature he was able to choose his colleagues in government; and he was fortunate in being able to retain them all almost to the end of his life.

215. Kaempfer, E.: *Description of Siam 1690*, ไทย ในจดหมายเหตุแกมป์เฟอร์ done into Siamese from the English translation of the original Dutch by John Caspar Scheuchzer and published in 1727 and 1906 by A. Saisuwan, Praćand Press, Bangkok, 2501, 64 pages.

Under the auspices of the National Library the part dealing with Siam in Kaempfer's *History of Japan together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam 1690-2* was translated into Siamese and published in 1944 by Mr. Direck Jayanām in dedication to the memory of his father, the cremation of whose remains was the occasion for that publication. Since this edition was never noticed in the pages of our *Journal* and there is a good deal of interesting matter which might be useful to the student of history and anthropology, the second edition dedicated by her son D. Mudirāngūr to his mother Kammā is now included in our series.

Dr. Kaempfer came to Ayudhyā in the first or second year of the reign of P̂ra P̂edrājā who succeeded King Nārāi towards the end of the XVIIth century. His account of contemporary events contains details hitherto unknown to the historian. His survey of the Ministers of State at the time is interesting. The personage better known as Luaṅ Sorasakdi is recorded here as P̂rayā Surasakdi or P̂rayā Waṅnā, "the Nobleman of the Palace to the Front." He seems to have been the senior nobleman; but not, as in standard histories, the *Prince* of the Palace to the Front. Kaempfer was certainly more interested in humanistic aspects of Siamese culture than the average Western writers, who were more inclined to notice more material topics. His description of the Royal Palace is worth serious study, although his names are hard to identify. His valuation of the Siamese nation was high indeed.

216. *Klōṅ Verses from the Ramakien,* (โคลงรามเกียรติ์ ภาค ๕) Part V, King Mongkut Academy Press, B.E. 2501, 400 pages.

We have been successively reviewing the four foregoing parts of these klōṅ verses in the series of the "Recent Siamese Publications," namely part I as number 120 of the series in JSS XLI, 1, parts II and III as nos. 136 and 137 in JSS XLII, 1 and part IV as no. 160 in JSS XLIII, 1. Taking in this final part V under review, consisting of 1848 stanzas, the whole work would consist of a total of 4984 stanzas.

The narrative in this volume commences with the return to Ayudhyā of Rāma after the conquest of Loṅkā, followed by episodes of domestic troubles in the hero's household and a few additional campaigns, the most important of which is the one

against King Cakravat of Malivan, who came to avenge the death of his ally Ťosakanth. The gist of the story, as before, follows the *Rāmakien* of King Rāma I. Prosodial values of these verses naturally differ a great deal, for they come from widely different authorship. Among the authors, one who signed himself "The former Khun Ťôṅsue," apparently a retired official of the Foreign Office, seems to have been one of the most prolific of contributors, his work occupying in this volume no less than 29 of the 400 pages. Most of the other poets are difficult to identify owing to the prevailing system of promoting officials by giving new names in accordance with the nature of their work. Members of the Royal Family are easier to recognise since they rarely changed their names, and in any case they are few in comparison to the first category. There are for instance, Ṕra-oṅ Čao Disaworakumār, Ṕra-oṅ Čao Sonapandit, and Ṕraōṅ Čao Ksemsri, known later by the names of their *krom* as Damrong, Bidyalabh-bridhidhātā and Divakaravoṅs, all three well-known in the Siamese literary world. There were also Princes Adisorn and Brahma, as well as several princes of Momchao rank, one of whom being Momchao Bhujjoṅ, who became in the seventh reign the King's monastic preceptor with the royal title of Kromaluaṅ Jinaworn and the ecclesiastical office of Patriarch of the Kingdom. In this connection one cannot help repeating a regret, often recorded in previous reviews, that greater effort might have been made by the authorities of the National Library in editorial work, such as identifying the authors by editing potential works for publication before offering them to the public for the purpose, instead of rushing them out with the excuse that no time had been available for better editing.

A distinctive feature of this part of the *klōṅ Verses* is the inclusion of coloured specimens of parts of the murals of the

Galleries of the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha, for which these verses were composed. They were gifts of H.M. the King. Rāmakien frescoes *must* be seen in colours, otherwise most of the effects of their picturesque qualities are lost. Several figures are similar in delineation and can only be distinguished by their colours.

The publication contains the usual features of a cremation book, a biography of the deceased, in this case Her late Royal Highness Princess Aṭorn, daughter of King Chulalongkorn, and two prefaces. The publication marks the consummation of recording the last unpublished work on the best known story in Siamese, and in fact in all Southeast Asian literatures.

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OBITUARY

Major Erik Seidenfaden

President of the Society (1938-40), Honorary Member

It is with great regret that the Society has to record, through the medium of its *Journal*, the death of one of its most active members for many decades, Major Erik Seidenfaden. The deceased was elected to membership in 1917. Three years later he was elected to fill a seat on the Council of the Society, becoming one of the Vice-Presidents in 1924; and he succeeded Phya Indra Montri as President in 1938. He was successively elected President for three years, after which he decided not to accept a further election. His services on the executive side of the Council was, however, retained in the capacity of a member of that body for another period of ten years, at the end of which,

returning to settle down in his motherland, he was made an honorary member, in which capacity he remained till his death.

His work on the executive side of the Society continued from 1920 to 1940, but his support of the Society was by no means limited to this alone, for he was an even more active contributor to the *Journal* all through that period and to the very last days of his life. He found time, moreover, to make Siamese culture and ethnology known to the world by contributing to publications of learned institutions such as the Ecole francaise d'extrême-Orient and several other ethnological groups. Among his valuable contributions to the *Journal of the Siam Society* were *Notes about the Chaubun* (XII, 3, 1), an additional *Note on the Lawa* (XVII,2,101), *The White Meo* (XVII,3, 153), supplementary note to Lemay's *The Lii* (XIX, 3, 185), *The Khā Tong L'uang* (XX,1, 41), *Translation of a Siamese Account of the Construction of the Temple on Khao Phanom Rung* (XXV,1, 83), *The Hill Tribes of Northern Siam* (XXV, 2. 215), *Anthropological and Ethnological Research Work in Siam* (XXVIII, 1, 15), *The Races of Indochina* (XXX,1, 57), *The Rice Grains from Khu Muang* (XXX,1, 61), *Early Trade Relations between Denmark and Siam* (with another author, XXXI, 1, 1), *Some Antiquities at Thā Rüa* (XXXI, 1, 29), *Antiquities on Doi Suthep* (XXXI, 1, 37), *Siam's Tribal Dresses* (XXXI, 2, 169), *The Peoples of the Menhirs and of the Jars* (XXXIV,1, 49), *The Sô and the Phuthai* (XXXIV, 2, 145), *Giant Early Man from Java and South China* (XXXVIII,1, 1), *The Kui People of Cambodia and Siam* (XXXIX, 2, 146), as well as innumerable notes and reviews. He was, in fact, the most prolific writer in the columns of our *Journal*. The range of his interest was generally ethnological and archeological, but it extended also to many other fields.

The best known of his contributions outside the Society's *Journal* are "Complément à l' Inventaire descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge pour les quatre provinces du Siam oriental," *Bulletin de l'Ecole francaise d'Extrême-Orient*, Tmoe

XXII, 1922 and a popular *Guide-book of Bangkok and Siam*, published some time ago but not yet surpassed in quality.

In the last years of his life the author was still writing for the *Journal of the Siam Society* and other scientific periodicals. His *chef d'oervre, The Thai Peoples*, has just been published under the sponsorship of the Siam Society as a special volume. In spite of his constant wish, the publication could not be completed within his lifetime, but it was completed only a short time after his death.

Besides his multifarious, self-imposed duties on behalf of the Society, Major Seidenfaden had a busy, active career which carried him to distant parts of the Kingdom, especially her northeastern parts, for he was an officer of the Gendarmerie almost from the time of its inauguration by the late Prince Damrong in the reign of King Chulalongkorn. He rose to be a major in the service. His duties gave him extensive opportunities for travelling and thereby acquiring knowledge of the land and her inhabitants. He applied his spirit of scientific enquiry to this wide field of knowledge. The Siam Society as well as other learned institutions of the West benefited greatly through his contributions.

Major Seidenfaden died from a protracted illness in Copenhagen on the 22nd of September 1958. The Siam Society's deep condolence is hereby extended with great sympathy to his widow and family.

OBITUARY

Mr. Robin Penman

Honorary Secretary of the Society (1956-58)

The untimely death on June 19, 1958, of Mr. Robin Penman, Honorary Secretary of the Siam Society from 1956 to 1958, was a considerable loss to the Society.

For many years he devoted much of his time to secretarial work for the Siam Society. As Honorary Assistant Secretary, he helped in the arrangements for the Golden Anniversary Commemoration Dinner in 1954, and other special functions, besides regularly attending meetings and participating in excursions. His businesslike zeal in the Society's cause was given recognition by his promotion to the Honorary Secretaryship. In this capacity he was instrumental in helping to make the Society better known to the public, as a result of which there was an increase in membership and in the sale of publications. On behalf of the Society, he visited the American Siam Society in California in 1957, and was duly elected an honorary member of that institution.

Mr. Penman was prompt and efficient in all his work for the Siam Society. The last service he rendered to the Society and which was completed only a short time before his death, was a typescript of the minutes of the previous day's Council meeting.

THE SIAM SOCIETY

BALANCE SHEET AS OF DECEMBER 31ST, 1957

Liabilities

Creditors:

Subscriptions prepaid		Baht 1,200.00

Reserves:

General Reserve	8,509.40	
Reserve for repairs	5,929.26	
Reserve for book purchases:	2,246.69	
Reserve for gratuities to library asst. ...	1,050.00	Baht 17,735.35
Reserve for excursions		Baht 953.87

Surplus:

Balance brought forward from last year	85,629.84	
Excess of receipt over expenditure in 1957	36.563,99	Baht 122,193.83

Funds for Research Fellowship:

Capital	7,758.94	
Donations	100.00	Baht 7,758.94
		Baht 149,941.99

Assets

Cash & Banks:

Cash at hand	100.45	
Siam Commercial Bank Ltd.	18,276.38	
Bank for Co-operatives, Fixed deposit ...	44,995.56	
Nationale Handelsbank, ...	58,240.00	
Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corp. Fixed deposit ...	25,000.00	Baht 146,612.39

Debtors:

Orientalia Inc., New York, N.Y. ...		Baht 1,027.40

Commemorative Publication:

Expenses for binding, etc.	50,703.60		
Income from sales	48,401.40	Baht	2,302.20
		Baht	149,941.99

Bangkok, January 2nd, 1958
J. Holm

Examined and found to agree with books and vouchers
P. Banijya Sara Vides
March 8th, 1957